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# THE LIFE

OF

HIS ROYAL HIGHNESS

# THE PRINCE CONSORT

VOL. V.



*H. R. H. Prince Albert,*

*at the age of 42.*

*Engraved by Francis Holl, from an enlarged Photograph*

*by Silvy taken in 1861.*

London Published by Smith Elder & C°15 Waterloo Place.



H.R.H. Victoria. The Princess Royal

1856

Engraved by Frances Holl from a Sketch by F. Winterhalter.

London Published by Smith Elder & Co. 15 Waterloo Place

# THE LIFE

OF

HIS ROYAL HIGHNESS

# THE PRINCE CONSORT

BY

THEODORE MARTIN

*WITH PORTRAITS*

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VOLUME THE FIFTH

*SECOND EDITION*

LONDON
SMITH, ELDER, & CO., 15 WATERLOO PLACE
1880

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TO

# THE QUEEN'S

## MOST EXCELLENT MAJESTY.

MADAM,

At length I have the honour to place in Your Majesty's hands the concluding volume of the *Life of the Prince Consort.*

I cannot bid adieu to a task, which has for many years engaged my anxious attention, without acknowledging in the broadest terms how much its difficulty and responsibility have been lightened by the confidence shown to me by Your Majesty, in not merely placing the amplest materials at my disposal, but also in leaving me entire freedom as to how they should be used. The trust was one of which I have striven to prove myself not unworthy, by withdrawing no further than seemed to be necessary the veil from the incidents either of the domestic life of the Palace, or of the political and public life in which Your Majesty and the Prince Consort have played so important a part. In what I have recorded my only aim has been to illustrate the character of the Prince,—the spirit in which all his private and public duties were discharged,—and the great void which his unlooked-for death created, not only in his home, but in the ranks of those governing minds, by whose sagacity and experience the integrity and honour of Your Majesty's dominions are upheld.

The world is justly impatient of the panegyric of a biographer. If a man's deeds and thoughts do not of themselves sufficiently proclaim his worth, the fault is either his biographer's or his own. In the case of the Prince Consort, all that could be told of him went to make the narrative a 'chronicle of actions bright and just;' and, if at times I have unwittingly added superfluous words of praise, I can only plead in excuse the difficulty of silence, where the chronicler has had occasion to scrutinise a character, under many and very varied aspects, so narrowly as it has been my duty to scrutinise that of the Prince, and has at every step found fresh occasion to admire its purity, its unselfishness, its consistency, and its noble self-control. Let me hope, that in any case the record which I have now brought to an end will have conveyed to the minds of those who read it no feeble reflex of the profound impression which these qualities produced upon my own mind during many years of close and conscientious study.

Much has necessarily become known to myself, which it would have been either premature or unfitting to record in these volumes; much that has only tended to deepen my admiration of the Prince, and my sympathy for the members of that loving circle, which his kind and noble nature had bound to him with the ties of absolute devotion, and which his death left stunned and desolate. I may, therefore, well fear that my picture of what he was will appear colourless and imperfect to his children, and to those friends—now, alas! how few!—who survive; and, if to them, then how much more so to Your Majesty, the companion of his heart and of his life!

But as none can measure so well the difficulty of my task, so do I know that no one will judge of its fulfilment more generously and forbearingly than Your Majesty, who has throughout, when my heart might otherwise have failed me,

given me the best encouragement, by accepting with approval the successive volumes in which I have endeavoured to make the Prince known to the world,—the Prince, of whom Your Majesty, in the first days of supreme grief, wrote to his oldest and his dearest friend, that he was your 'husband, father, lover, master, friend, adviser, and guide.'

I have the honour to remain,

MADAM,

Your Majesty's devoted

Subject and Servant,

THEODORE MARTIN.

31 ONSLOW SQUARE:
*5th January*, 1880.

*ZUM ANDENKEN.*

Gott im Herzen, vorwärts schauend,
Stets sich opfernd, auf IHN bauend,
Aufwärts strebend,
Mit sich hebend
Geist und Wissen seiner Zeit,
Diente er der Ewigkeit.

*H.R.H. the Crown Princess of Prussia.*

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# THE LIFE

OF HIS ROYAL HIGHNESS

# THE PRINCE CONSORT.

## CHAPTER XCVII.

'We began 1860 very peaceably and happily, and I never remember spending a pleasanter New Year's Day, surrounded by our children and dear Mama. It is really extraordinary how much our good children did for the day in writing, reciting, and music.'

It was thus the Queen wrote to King Leopold on the 3rd of January of the happy holiday season, which the Royal children had striven, as usual, to make happier for their parents by such proofs of proficiency in their studies as they knew would be the most welcome tribute of their gratitude and affection. To the beloved daughter at Berlin the Prince accompanied his New Year's greeting with the following words of encouragement and counsel:—

'You enter upon the New Year with hopes, which God will surely graciously suffer to be fulfilled, but you do so also with good resolutions, whose fulfilment lies within your own hand and must necessarily contribute to your success also happiness in this suffering and difficult world. Hold firmly by these resolutions, and evermore cherish the determination,

with which comes also the strength, to exercise unlimited control over yourself, that the moral law may govern and the propensity obey,—the end and aim of all education and culture, as we long ago discovered and reasoned out together. . . .'[1]

At the opening of 1860 the aspect of affairs at home was upon the whole satisfactory. Trade was good, employment among the working classes abundant and remunerative, and the farmers were fairly contented with their condition and prospects. Although increased taxation to meet the expenditure on National Defences was known to be imminent, so satisfied was the country of the necessity for the steps which had been taken in this direction, and for the more costly measures which were contemplated, that it was prepared to accept the burden with equanimity. Whatever action might be taken in Europe by their restless neighbour in France, they were determined, should not find them unprepared.

Distrustful as the Sovereign naturally had become of the wavering and occult policy of the Emperor of the French, she did not omit to tender him her wonted congratulations at the opening of the year, not without a hope that his unmistakable desire to retain her good opinion might have some influence upon his councils. In a letter to him on the last day of 1859 Her Majesty wrote:—

'May the New Year bring you only happiness and content! That which is about to close has been full of storm and trial (*orageux et pénible*), and has brought suffering to many a heart. I pray God, that in this which we are about to enter we may see the work of pacification accom-

[1] In the same spirit the Prince, a year later (29th January, 1861), wrote to his daughter: 'In this way you may both have the consciousness of doing good, and what more can man desire? What can make him more truly happy than this consciousness?

plished, with all its benefits for the repose and progress of the world. There will be many divergent opinions and apparent hostile interests to be reconciled, but with the help of heaven, and a firm determination to seek only the welfare of those whose destiny we have to direct and shape (*régler*), one must not despair of a satisfactory result.'

In his reply next day, the Emperor was unable to echo Her Majesty's single-minded desire to think only of the welfare of the Italian people, of whose destiny he had become for a time in a certain sense the arbiter. 'I hope,' were the Emperor's words, 'that the year now beginning will be marked by none of those sudden turns of fortune (*péripéties*) which have marked the year 1859, and what I desire above all is, that in the interests of the progress and the peace of the world it may draw closer our alliance, which has always been fertile in happy results.'

In neither respect were the Emperor's hopes fulfilled. The turns of fortune, for which this year will ever be memorable in Italian history, were such as to upset all his calculations, and the revelations of his policy which it brought made his warmest friends in the English Government recoil from that intimate alliance with France, which they had previously been disposed to cultivate.

Although the Emperor of the French continued for a time to profess great anxiety that the Congress should meet, it is difficult to believe that these professions were more than phrases. He had himself made its meeting impossible by the publication of the pamphlet *Le Pape et le Congrès*, referred to by the Prince in the last chapter, which, although ostensibly the work of M. de la Guéronnière, was well known to have been directly inspired by himself.[2] Was it

[2] On the 25th of December, 1859, Lord Cowley wrote to Lord John Russell: 'There is not a sentiment or idea in it which I have not heard over and over again from the Emperor, and, if I did not know from other sources that he

possible that either the Pope or Austria should enter a Congress, at the wish of a potentate who had openly stated it to be his deliberate conviction, that not only was the Romagna lost for ever to the Papal See, but that in the interests of Europe the Pope should be deprived of all his temporal dominions, Rome only excepted, where he was to be maintained for the future by the guarantee of the Great Powers, upon a revenue to be paid by the Catholic States, 'as a tribute of respect and admiration to the Head of the Church?' That it was not possible, no one could have known better than the Emperor of the French. And, in fact, Austria lost no time in intimating that she must decline to enter the Congress, unless upon an assurance from the French Government, that it would neither bring forward there the measures advocated by the pamphlet, nor support them if brought forward by others. But that no such assurance could or would be given was soon made clear by the publication of a letter written by the Emperor Napoleon to the Pope on the 31st of December, 1859, in which he recommended His Holiness to sacrifice his revolted provinces and to call upon the European Powers to guarantee him the possession of what was left of the Papal dominions. The removal from office a few days afterwards (4th January, 1860) of Count Walewski, who had made attempts to obtain authority from his master to disavow the doctrines of the obnoxious pamphlet, was another indication that from this moment the policy of the Emperor of the French had taken a fresh point of departure. M. Thouvenel, his new Secretary for Foreign Affairs, was not hampered by sympathy for the Papal supremacy, nor chilled by the antagonism which had long subsisted between Count Walewski and Cavour.

originated it, I should have been certain of the fact from its contents. His Majesty replies to those who ask—"I did not write the pamphlet, but I agree in all that it says."'

The sympathies of England with the Italian cause, and the ambition of Lord Palmerston and Lord John Russell to become active agents in establishing a Northern Italian kingdom, had been up to this point of the greatest service to the Emperor. They had done for him what he could not have done for himself, by showing Austria that the re-entry of the Dukes to the Italian Duchies, to which he had assented by the peace of Villafranca, was impossible—a result which he could not have ventured to press upon her consideration without exposing himself to the reproach of having violated his engagements. Nothing, in truth, was more certain by the end of 1859 than that not the Duchies merely, but Tuscany and Romagna also, were no longer at the disposal of European diplomacy. By the admirable prudence with which up to this point they had made use of the freedom which they had gained, these States had vindicated their right to determine to whom their future allegiance should be given. With a strong and unanimous voice they had declared for annexation to Sardinia. If left to themselves, this annexation could not fail to take place, and at no distant date.

Whatever views the Emperor of the French may at one time have entertained as to the foundation of a kingdom of Central Italy, dependent upon France, he was too sagacious not to see that such views were no longer practicable. In the six months which had elapsed since the defeat of Solferino, Austria had become convinced that her hands were tied from renewing the war in Italy by the shattered finances and the internal dissensions of her empire. This was, of course, as well known to the Emperor of the French as it was to the English Cabinet.[3] If then Austria declined

[3] On the 2nd of January, 1860, Lord Augustus Loftus, the English ambassador at Vienna, wrote to Lord John Russell:—'I think I may say with full confidence, that this Government has no intention of marching a man across their frontier, even though Sardinia were to march into Central Italy. Austria cannot engage in any external contest, for she would bring down upon

or was unable to move, the quiescence of Prussia was assured. The recent mobilisation of her forces had moreover shown the Government of Berlin the defects of their military system, and these the country wanted breathing-time to repair.[4] Russia, again, might be relied on to stand aloof from any warlike intervention in the affairs of Northern Italy, as by these her interests were in no way affected. France, and France alone, which had an army of sixty thousand men still in Lombardy, and an occupation force of five thousand in Rome, could arrest or prevent that entire freedom of action on the part of the Italian States which would naturally have resulted in their placing themselves under the sovereignty of the King of Sardinia.

Such was the position of the Italian problem at the beginning of 1860. The duty of England was simple and obvious—to stand aside, as she had hitherto done, avowing her sympathy with the Italians in their struggle for constitutional liberty, and leaving them to work out for themselves what they had already so well begun. The position of the French Emperor, on the other hand, was full of embarrassment. Any active measure on his part to advance the union of the Duchies with Sardinia would have been a breach of his engagement to Austria; while to with-

herself a national bankruptcy, which would be followed by an internal revolution.' This was only one of many well authenticated communications from various quarters to the same effect.

[4] In opening the Prussian Chambers on the 12th of January, 1860, the Prince Regent said:—'A question of great gravity demands your attention and the attention of my Government. . . . The experience of the last ten years, in which the defensive power of the nation was more than once taken into account, has shown the existence of many faults, which ought to be remedied. It is my duty, as it is my right, to remedy those faults, and I invoke your constitutional co-operation to concert measures to increase our defensive strength in proportion to the increase of our population and to our commercial position.' From this time began that reorganisation of the Prussian army, and building up of the military system, which effected the establishment of the German Empire and the downfall of the Napoleon dynasty.

draw his troops, and leave Italy to her fate, would have been to confess that the 'idea' for which he had gone to war was a blunder, and to make himself ridiculous in the eyes of France, which might ask in such an event for what purpose some of its best blood had been profusely shed at Magenta and Solferino. It is most probable that inclination and conviction, no less than policy, prompted the Emperor to prove his loyalty to the cause of the Italian nation by braving alike the hostility of the Church and the indignation of Austria. But it was one thing to do this single-handed, and another with England pledged to support France and Sardinia against all foreign intervention in the affairs of Italy.

A Memorandum, dated 5th of January, 1860, published by Mr. Ashley in his *Life of Lord Palmerston* (vol. ii. p. 174), prepared by Lord Palmerston for the consideration of his Cabinet, shows that he at least was not indisposed to enter into this alliance, even at the risk of war—nay, that he was prepared to give up office rather than abandon the principle of the proposed 'triple alliance.' Mr. Ashley confines himself to the statement that there proved to be no need for 'any formal league like this triple alliance;' but it soon became no secret that, if it had not been concluded, this was owing to the fact that the Cabinet as a body were decidedly opposed to the views of their chief and of the Foreign Secretary. Significant articles appeared on the 5th and 6th of January in *The Times*, hinting, as a Memorandum of the Prince records, 'at what has passed in the Cabinet [at their Meeting on the 3rd of January], and which can only have come from one of its members.' The language of these articles indicates how very great was the divergence of views at the Council-table. Arguing upon the supposition of what could not have been known beyond its circle to be a fact, that a proposition by the French Emperor for a treaty

binding England to a joint action with France in regulating the affairs of Italy might be made, in the hope that it would be favourably entertained by a Government anxious above all things for the complete liberation of Italy, the writer says: 'We feel convinced that, unless Parliament could be got rid of as unceremoniously as the Congress, the Government which entered into such an agreement would never live to execute it.'

Returning to the subject the following day, the writer in *The Times* stated very forcibly his views as to the state of public opinion on this question:—

'If,' he said, 'we know anything of the sentiments of our countrymen, nothing is more certain than that this nation would not endure any Ministry which should propose to pledge England to an offensive alliance with France against the rest of Europe. We wish well to Italy, but "we do not go to war for an idea." If we did so, we should prefer to do so upon our own policy, and with confidence in our own right. If we did so, we should moreover prefer to have some control over our own position, and some confidence that our allies would fight out the whole fight with us, and not make peace at inconvenient seasons. If we did so, we should like to go into it unfettered by any such engagements as might compel us, perhaps, to look on with approval while our ally pushed on an army to the Rhine, and to submit hopelessly while he made a compact for the dismemberment of the East. . . . We will honour, glorify, sympathise, admire, but in this quarrel, and under these conditions, we will not fight.'

Baffled in the attempt to secure the more extended arrangement which would have brought England into collision with the other European Powers, whose suspicions had already been aroused by hints of the efforts to cement a separate French and English alliance, Count Persigny now suggested to Lord John Russell that Austria and France should both formally agree not to interfere in Italy, 'unless called upon to do so by Europe at some future time in case

of 'anarchy.' This suggestion was reported by Lord John Russell (9th January) to the Queen, in a letter which concluded with the expression of an opinion that it 'might form the basis of an agreement between France and England.' The inaptness of the Foreign Secretary's proposal could not fail to strike Her Majesty; and she wrote to him the same day in reply:—

'If France and Austria will both abstain from interfering in the affairs of Italy, it will be much the wisest course; but the Queen cannot see why this should require an agreement to be entered into between France and *us*, who ought not to interfere at all.

'It is worth remembering, with regard to the two above-named Powers, that, while Austria is an Italian Power in virtue of Venetia, and France is not, Austria has now no troops in any part of Italy but her own, whilst France still occupies Rome and a portion of Lombardy. French interference is therefore the only one existing.'

The intentions of Austria were a few days afterwards placed beyond a doubt, by the official declaration of Count Rechberg to our Ambassador at Vienna, 'that Austria might confidentially declare that she had no intention of interfering in Italian affairs.'[5] If therefore France had no interests of her own to serve, the question might have been left to its natural solution. But the Emperor Napoleon was not prepared to relax his hold upon the Peninsula without an equivalent, to which he attached great importance, and which had become vital to him as the means of reconciling his subjects to their expenditure of blood and treasure in the

[5] This was telegraphed on the 24th of January from Vienna to the Foreign Office. A week before, Lord Cowley had written from Paris to Lord John Russell, that the Austrian Ambassador there 'had told the Emperor [Napoleon] that it is doubly unfair to press hardly upon Austria, for that she cannot have recourse to arms, even if she desired it.'

Italian campaign.[6] The cession of Savoy to France, which, under the compact of Plombières, was to have been the price of Italy freed 'from the Mincio to the Adriatic,' had been abandoned on the failure of that magnificent programme. It was now to be the means of securing the Emperor's assent to the incorporation of the revolted Italian provinces with the Kingdom of Sardinia. At the very time that he was courting the alliance, offensive and defensive, with England, to strengthen himself against the chances of war with Austria, he had made this purpose known at Turin. About the same time the recovery of France's *frontières naturelles vers les Alpes* began to be freely spoken of in the army and in the saloons of Paris as imminent. This condition Count Cavour found set before him with inexorable sternness, when on the 16th of January he was recalled by Victor Emmanuel to the head of affairs. Escape from it he knew to be impossible. It cost him many bitter pangs, and to the outside world he made a show to the last of being free from all engagement on the subject. But his biographer avows that he regarded the surrender of Savoy and Nice as from the first a foregone conclusion, which he justified to his own mind by the conviction that the gain of a kingdom, since it could be secured in no other way, was not too dearly purchased by the sacrifice of a province.[7]

If the compact on this head between the Courts of the

[6] In a private Memorandum, dated 14th January, 1860, the Prince writes: 'The Prince de Joinville told me to-day, that he thought the Emperor would weather the storm, and that the French priesthood would submit, but remain permanently wounded and hostile;—that the Emperor felt the danger of this, and the necessity of compensating the nation, and particularly the army, which felt that it had made war for nothing. The Emperor had therefore given out in the army, that *he had obtained* the acquisition of Savoy as the *frontière naturelle de la France vers les Alpes*,—which, by all the Prince heard from France, was giving great satisfaction.'

[7] A *mot* of Count Cavour, current at the time, has been preserved by his biographer. '*Après avoir donné la fille, on pouvait donner le berceau.*'—Mazade, *Vie de Cavour*, p. 326.

Tuileries and of Turin had been known to the English Cabinet, they would have been more chary than they were of pursuing negotiations with the Emperor of the French for a common line of action in the Italian question. His claim to Savoy and Nice could manifestly be based only on the supposition that by the annexation of the revolted Italian States Sardinia gained an increase in territory and population fully equivalent to what would have fallen to her by the wresting of Venetia from the Austrians. Yet while that claim had been in effect admitted by Sardinia, and upon this ground, and this ground only, the Emperor Napoleon was telling our Ambassador in Paris, that he felt reluctance in yielding to the suggestion put forward by the English Government in a Despatch of Lord John Russell's (15th January), that France and Austria should pledge themselves not to interfere for the future by force in the internal affairs of Italy, unless called upon to do so by the unanimous assent of the five Great Powers of Europe. 'Could he,' was the question which he put to Lord Cowley (18th January), as his friend, and as a man of honour—'could he enter into the course proposed to him without being guilty of disloyalty to Austria?' The question was one which the Emperor himself alone could answer, for he alone knew what had passed at Villafranca between his Imperial brother and himself. 'If, however,' was Lord Cowley's reply, 'His Majesty had given the Emperor of Austria to understand, that he would employ all means short of force to accomplish the restoration of the Duchies, then as an honest man, I conceived that the position of His Majesty would become exceedingly awkward, should the Emperor of Austria insist on his not recognising the annexation of the Duchies to Sardinia, without reference to the Powers who were parties to the Treaties of 1815.'

In the same conversation (which was at once reported to

Lord John Russell) the Emperor let Lord Cowley see that he was bent upon the acquisition of Savoy. 'I did all I could,' Lord Cowley wrote, 'to convince him that it would be a false step; but he has got it into his head that Savoy wishes for it, and he expects a popular demonstration to that effect. In that case, he says, the will of the people of Savoy ought to be as much attended to as the wishes of any other population.'

In sending Lord Cowley's letter to the Queen (21st January), Lord John Russell spoke of it as 'rather alarming.' And, indeed, there was enough to awaken distrust of the Emperor's intentions in the minds of those who had hitherto been disposed to regard him as the magnanimous liberator of Italy. It afforded in any case a strong confirmation of the views all along entertained by the Queen and Prince, as well as by the Cabinet, of the inexpediency of entangling England in engagements with an ally, who had manifestly ulterior objects in view, to which, so far as these might be divined, England could lend no countenance. In returning Lord Cowley's letter to Lord John Russell, Her Majesty wrote (21st January):—

'The Emperor shows unwillingness to evacuate Rome and Lombardy, disinclination to admit of the annexation of the Duchies to Sardinia, a feeling that he could not assent to it without appearing dishonourable in the eyes of Austria, and a determination to obtain possession of Savoy, in order to repay the French nation for the rupture with the Pope, and the abandonment of a protective tariff, by the reconquest of at least a portion of the *frontières naturelles de la France.* Lord Cowley's letter proves clearly that it is (as the Queen all along felt and often said) most dangerous for us to offer to bind ourselves to a common action with the Emperor with regard to Italy, whilst he has entered into a variety of

engagements with the different parties engaged in the dispute, of which we know nothing, and has objects in view, which we can only guess at, and which have not the good of Italy in view, but his own aggrandisement, to the serious detriment of Europe.'

The view taken by the Prince of the state of affairs may be gathered from the following passages in a letter (15th January) to Baron Stockmar. The Prince had been moved to write to him on hearing of the death of Hofrath Sommer, the court physician at Coburg, the Baron's first-cousin and one of his most valued friends, whose loss, the Prince knew, would cause him serious regret:—

'I hope your health may not have suffered from your grief for him. Here, too, death has again been busy, and carried off only the good, leaving us for our delectation a great deal of worthless trash. Macaulay is a great loss, so is Brunel, and I have mourned for Lord de Grey as a thoroughly excellent and loyal man.

'I am tired to death with work, vexation, and worry. . . .

'The Emperor Napoleon has now assented to the fall of Walewski, and broken with the Pope, and is prepared to confront Europe; but he represents all this as the sacrifice made by him to England and the English alliance, for which he expects counter-concessions. . . .

'The Emperor proposes also to break with the French Protectionists, and to give in his adherence to English Free Trade. From this Cobden anticipates the cessation of our defensive preparations and our Volunteer corps. Strange to say, the treaty will give the Emperor our coals and iron, which he will want if he should come into collision with us; and by the abolition of the wine duties we shall sustain a loss of two millions in our financial receipts. And as we have to raise the Income Tax to ninepence in the pound, in

order to meet the increased Army and Navy Estimates, and must borrow ten millions for the permanent defences, the Income Tax will have ultimately to be raised to elevenpence, and sober-minded people anticipate that the public will not stand this.

'Louis Napoleon now speaks to his army of Savoy as the acquisition achieved by them of the *frontières naturelles vers les Alpes*, and Prince de Joinville said to me yesterday he believed this would have the effect of neutralising the unpopularity of the assault which he has made upon the Church. . . .

'Parliament meets on the 24th. . . . The Prince of Wales returns to Oxford on the 19th.

'Alfred is at Leghorn, on his way back to us. We expect him about the end of next month, when his preparation for being confirmed begins. The other children are visibly thriving, and you would find them greatly grown. Alice has become a handsome young woman, of graceful form and graceful presence, and is a help and stay to us all in the house.'

This letter elicited the following reply from the invalid recluse of Coburg (17th January):—

'Tired and very weary of life though I be, I still long to converse with my gracious and well-beloved Prince. First of all, let me give vent to the grateful feelings, which have been kindled within me by the favourable report as to the well-being, mental and bodily, of all the Royal family. I pray God, He may continue to bless and preserve them!

'My long life has given me time enough to satisfy myself of the truth of the doctrine, that a man will never be able to fulfil the task allotted to him in life, rightly, worthily, and at the same time happily for himself, unless he keeps himself employed in an upright and serious spirit. If he cannot do

this, he degenerates unwittingly into frivolity, and consequently into worthlessness.

'Hold fast by this principle in the education of your children; it will prove its own truth. . . .

'Of what is going on in the political world I learn nothing here. As I have forbidden my children to write to me about business or personal matters, I hear nothing from them. I only surmise that Prussia has been treated unhandsomely by England.[8] This is, in a general way, a great fault, which may readily cause serious mischief to England. For if it comes one day to fighting for certain things that England wants, Prussia is the only Power that will be either willing or able to fight on the same motives.'

The States of Bavaria and Würtemberg had recently concluded *Concordats* with the Pope. Another *Concordat* had been signed by the Grand Duke of Baden, at the instigation of his Prime Minister, Herr von Meysenburg, subject to the condition that it should be submitted for and be dependent upon legislative sanction. It was at this time waiting for discussion in the Chambers, and had excited a most hostile feeling throughout the Duchy, involving as it did a complete surrender on the part of the State of all rights connected with ecclesiastical affairs. Its provisions were even more favourable to Rome than those of the Austrian *Concordat*. By it the Government deprived itself of all participation in the appointment of ecclesiastical functionaries. It gave the clergy a right to hold and to accumulate landed property, to decide in all matters touch-

[8] The Baron had probably heard rumours from Berlin of intimate relations in course of being established between France and England, to the exclusion of the Northern Powers. These had caused considerable disquietude at the Court of Berlin, which was not diminished by a somewhat curt refusal by Lord John Russell of an offer made by Prussia to come to an understanding with England on the Italian question.

ing marriage, to make laymen amenable to ecclesiastical tribunals and subject to Papal censures. It placed the whole Catholic youth of Baden, two-thirds of the population of which was Catholic, exclusively under the superintendence of the Roman Catholic clergy. By these and other stipulations, it in effect restored to the clergy all the power which, together with the despotic government under which they groaned, had made the people of the Rhine country in 1807 accept without reluctance the dominion of the first Napoleon. 'If the country,' says Pfister (*History of Germany*, vol. ii. book iii.) 'on the left bank of the Rhine had little feeling of shame at being under a foreign rule, it was because it thereby escaped from the dependence in which the Court of Rome held the small Ecclesiastical States, and from the despotism exercised by the petty Princes of the Rhine.'[9]

The conclusion of these various *Concordats* seems to have led the Princess Royal to apply to the Prince for his opinion on this proceeding as a matter of State policy. It was given (18th January) in the following terms:—

'Your question,—Whether it is altogether right and expedient for a State to conclude a *Concordat* with the Pope?—I answer with a most emphatic "No!"

'The Catholic Church asserted, and still asserts, a right to unqualified supremacy over the State, and will neither submit to any limitation by the State, nor acknowledge any dependence upon it. The State asserts its own superiority over its own subjects. Well! But in Catholic States the Church is the State Church; hence the conflict (*Zwiespalt*), which, being rooted in a principle, is irreconcileable. Practically it has turned out that the popular resistance has

[9] The *Concordat* was subsequently annulled, in pursuance of resolutions of the Chambers. Herr von Meysenburg, by whom it had been negotiated, was superseded, and a result averted, which, it was felt at the time, might have made the people of Baden sigh anew for the dependence on France, which at least had saved them from the tyranny of the clergy.

been more than a match for the Church in her attempts at usurpation. Her means of coercion were not powerful enough to place and keep the people in subjection; and she therefore needed the arm of the State in order to get her decrees recognised and put in force. In return for this secular aid which the State was called upon to give her, she permitted the State to impose some restrictions upon herself, and to take some share in her government, as, for example, by the nomination of bishops, by taking part in the promulgation of ordinances, and in the moulding of ecclesiastical policy. So it was of old, so is it now again of late years in Catholic countries. Now, however, every one must see that the mode of action is entirely altered. That supremacy to which the Church has set up a claim, but which she cannot enforce, she now effects through and receives from the State, whose supremacy she denies, allowing it in return merely nominal privileges, which do not secure for it any practical control of the Church. In this way the State becomes the servant of the Church, and the Church keeps up a grudge against the State for intermeddling with her administration—an interference which she repudiates upon principle, and practically only tolerates because she is peace-loving (?) and meek (?), and does not seek for power (!)

'But how is it, then, in a Protestant country? Here the Catholic Church is not merely in the position of setting up a disputed claim to supremacy, but is, moreover, charged with the *divine mission* to destroy the actually existing heretical Church, and to convert the people to the true faith. The power which she borrows and receives in this case from the secular arm by means of a *Concordat* becomes, therefore, an instrument not merely to tyrannise over the people, but also to convert the Protestant population and to annihilate the Protestant Church as being a Church that is

false and usurping. She cannot consent to the interference of the Protestant Sovereign with the government of the Catholic Church by way of counter concession; therefore even the equivalent, futile as it is, which she concedes in the case of a Catholic State, utterly fails. What madness, then, is it for a Protestant Government to impose fetters upon itself, and to surrender its own weapons into the hands of the Catholic Church!

'The only thing which a Protestant State can do is to take its stand upon its own fundamental principle—that of *freedom of conscience.* Let it therefore leave the Catholic Church free from all control and from all pressure from that mixed civil and ecclesiastical authority which Catholic States affect, but at the same time let it not place at her disposal one jot of its own power. Should the Catholic Church oppress her people, then this is the affair of both the parties to the *Concordat.* But the State should not be a party to a lesser act of oppression in order to protect its subjects against a greater, and so make itself responsible for injustice. The oppressed will soon help themselves, and the Church, left to her own resources, will be wary how she acts. If she proceed to extreme measures, her subjects are very likely to turn Protestants. If, on the other hand, oppression be to their taste, they may be left to enjoy it. Under such a state of things persecution of the Protestants by the Catholic Church is simply impossible, for she has always made use of the State for that purpose, and that, being Protestant, will never lend itself to what would be suicidal.'

## CHAPTER XCVIII.

On the 24th of January Parliament was opened by the Queen in person. Her Majesty's Speech was fertile in topics for discussion. The suspension of the proposed Congress, the proposed Commercial Treaty with France, the joint Expedition of English and French forces to the Peiho, the dispute with the United States about the Island of St. Juan, the promised Reform Bill, the question of National Defences, furnished materials for animated debate upon the Address in both Houses. In the House of Commons attention was chiefly concentrated on the affairs of Italy, where the prevailing rumours of an alliance, offensive and defensive, with France to prevent interference by any Foreign Power were made use of with great effect by Mr. Disraeli to extract from the Government an explicit declaration of their policy. The very strong feeling against any such alliance elicited by Mr. Disraeli's speech showed conclusively that any engagement of this kind would have been fatal to the Ministry. No part of what he said commanded warmer applause than a passage in which, after depicting the absolute uncertainty that existed as to the solution which the Italians themselves would propose for the extrication of their affairs, he went on to say:—

'What is the moral that I draw from these conflicting opinions? It is that Italy is at the present moment in a state far beyond the management and settlement of Courts, Cabinets, and Congresses. It is utterly impossible to create a national

independence by protocols, and to guarantee public liberty by a Congress. All this has been tried before, and the consequence has been a sickly and short-lived offspring. Never mind what faults or previous errors may have been committed. I say that what is going on in Italy can only be solved by the will, the energy, the sentiment, and thought of the population themselves. The whole question, in my mind, is taken out of the sphere of Congresses and Cabinets. We are at this moment pure from any circumstances of previous interference in these affairs, and it is of the utmost importance that we should remain so.'

As Lord Palmerston listened to the cheers with which these words and others to the same effect were received, he could scarcely have regretted that his Cabinet had refused to be persuaded by his Memorandum of the 5th of January,[1] and that he was therefore able to assure the House that at the time he spoke Her Majesty's Government was 'totally free from any engagement whatever with any Foreign Power upon the affairs of Italy.' No less unqualified assurance, he must have felt, would have satisfied the House or the country; and when the demand of France for the cession of Savoy, of which he had been for some days aware, came to be known, as in a few days it was sure to be, he could not but feel that, if it had found his Government under any pledge to France, not even his popularity could have withstood the storm of indignation which the intelligence would have provoked. The French official press had now received instructions to prepare the way for this demand. 'Who,' wrote the *Journal des Débats*, 'can look upon the map and fail to see that Nice is a fragment detached from our territory, or that the Maritime Alps are the logical frontier of France? Treaties,' it continued, 'made in a spirit of hatred to France may have decided otherwise, but what they did in 1815 was done in violence to geography, to diplomacy, and in

[1] Published, as above mentioned, by Mr. Ashley in his *Life of Lord Palmerston*, vol. ii. pp. 174 *et seq.*

flagrant opposition to nature herself.' It was indeed fortunate, that England was not committed to an intimate alliance with a Power, which was prepared to vindicate its action upon grounds so inconsistent with the disinterestedness which it had hitherto professed, and which were susceptible of an application most perilous to the peace of Europe.

The Address to the Crown was carried without opposition, but not without indications that vigorous attacks would subsequently be made both upon the French treaty and the projected measure of Reform. The next day the Prince wrote to the Prince Regent of Prussia as follows :—

'Windsor Castle, 25th January, 1860.

'My dear Cousin,—I write to you on the second anniversary of our children's marriage, for which I wish from my heart all happiness for your sake as well as for our own. The day after to-morrow our common grandchild will celebrate his first birthday. For this day also accept, along with our dear cousin [the Princess of Prussia], our best wishes. May God prosper the dear little one for the welfare of his country and the joy of us all! . . .

'We opened Parliament yesterday, and I hope you will be satisfied with the Queen's Speech, as we were with yours at the opening of the Prussian Diet. The principle not to impose any fixed form of government upon the Italians by force of arms is unquestionably the right one. . . . The Emperor Napoleon is in a cleft stick between his promises to the Italian Revolution and those he has made to the Pope. The self-deceptive form of solution, which he has tried to effect by the Treaty of Villafranca, has but added to his difficulties, by fettering him with new relations towards Austria. He would fain burst these meshes, and make use of us for the purpose. Our constant aim is to prevent our

being turned to account for this object, and in this we are in the fullest accord with the Cabinet and public opinion.[2] The Emperor is now trying to conciliate this public opinion, for which great measures and great efforts are required. He seems, however, not to be afraid of what is before him, and has broken both with his whole clergy and with the great Protectionist party. I believe that neither Catholicism nor Protection are so strong as they fancy themselves to be, and he will remain completely their master; but I am afraid that the consciousness of having weakened himself at home by the evocation of so many hostile spirits will compel him to seek elsewhere some compensation for the French national feeling, and it is in this way I explain to myself this sudden resurrection of eagerness for the incorporation of Savoy. In France people are convinced that this has been already effected, and it will be made acceptable to the army with the (for Germany) ominous indication of "*revendication des frontières naturelles, au moins quant aux Alpes.*" But here again is a proceeding quite at variance with all he has previously professed.

'As regards public opinion in England, the Emperor has not gained his end. The brochure, *Le Pape et le Congrès*, and the letter to the Pope which followed, have no doubt elicited the most cordial approval; but for all that people are frightened at the irresponsibility which, betwixt night and morning, may break with everything which they thought, when they went to bed, was too sacred to be touched.

'The Commercial Treaty which was signed two days since

[2] 'Au fond,' says M. de Mazade (*Vie de Cavour*, p. 309), 'dans les mystères de sa politique, Napoléon III avait une double pensée. Il ne demandait pas mieux en effet, que d'avoir la main forcée, comme on le disait, de pouvoir se dégager le mieux possible, et de couvrir du nom de l'Angleterre vis-à-vis de l'Autriche l'inexécution des engagements de Villafranca et de Zurich.' This purpose, penetrated from the first, as has been shown, by the Queen and Prince, was baffled by the resolute attitude of the English Cabinet.

in Paris will not give satisfaction here, because it gives France our coal and iron—the two elements of our superiority hitherto—and in return, by loss of duties upon wine and articles of luxury, causes us an immediate deficit in income of two millions sterling! while eighteen months will elapse before facilities will be given for the introduction of our wares.

'The treaty will not be detrimental to the interests of Prussia and Germany. Possessing, as I believe they do in their treaties with England and France, the most favoured nation clauses, the treaty, by lowering the duties in both countries, actually makes them an important gift without any counter concession on their part. I foresee, moreover, that the adoption by France of the free-trade system must give Germany an impulse in the same direction, and that the advantages of that system will be greater for that country than any which can be foreseen for France.

'The Italian question itself seems to me to have advanced not a hair's-breadth nearer its solution. We have made efforts to get Austria and France to recognise the principle of non-intervention. Austria replies: "I have not the least intention of intervening; still, however, I cannot tie my hands on the naked principle." This being so, France would have to lead the way by the evacuation of Lombardy and of Rome. As this evacuation cannot suit her book, it will be put off, especially if they have not abandoned all hope there of getting us to promise to uphold,—if need be, by force of arms,—the principle of non-intervention along with France —a purpose which, in our view, might have the object of putting that country in a safe position, should eventualities arise, which its Government might then manage dexterously to bring about.

'The old proverb will no doubt prove its truth, *Homme propose, Dieu dispose*, and we may safely leave the future

in *His* hands, for men seem to me to grow daily more and more irrational—a proposition from which naturally every-one excepts himself. Doing this, like other folks, and frankly avowing it, I remain always . . .

'ALBERT.'

From a letter which the Prince wrote the same day to his daughter at Berlin, we extract the following passages. They show with what delight he turned from politics to the thoughts that make the happiness of home :—

'Windsor Castle, 25th January, 1860.

'It is just two years to-day since the wedding-ring was placed upon your finger, and Fritz became your lord. May the auspicious beginning of this union form the exemplar for an auspicious future for it, and may God continue to bless as He has hitherto blessed it! In love consists the inward tie, in love is the fundamental principle of happiness. Very soon, in two days, the first birthday will be here of the dear little boy. . . . Accept, both of you, for both dear festivals, the very warmest good wishes of my heart. Time flies on with wonderful rapidity.

'We came back yesterday afternoon from the opening of Parliament. Alice and Lenchen [Princess Helena] were present for the first time.'

Remembering the protestations of the Emperor of the French, that he had gone to war in Italy 'for an idea,'—that idea being the emancipation from foreign oppression of a people with whom France was allied in ties of sympathy, because its 'history was mingled with our own,'—and that he 'wished for no aggrandisement' for himself, Lord John Russell was slow to admit that these protestations were now to be belied by what was in effect a forcible annexation of Savoy

and Nice. It is due to the Emperor to bear in mind, that he had all along made us aware, that, if the war should result in establishing a great Italian kingdom in the hands of Victor Emmanuel, he should stipulate for the surrender of these provinces to France. Whether that kingdom was to be constituted by the incorporation of Lombardy and Venetia with Sardinia, as originally contemplated, or by the Duchies with Tuscany and the Romagna insisting on uniting themselves with Sardinia,—an event for which the way could not have been made clear except by the aid which France had lent in the defeat of Austria—the ground on which the French Emperor rested his demands was the same,—the creation of a strong Italian kingdom on his frontier.

That such a kingdom would now be created was beyond a doubt, for the States of Central Italy had already by votes of their Assemblies shown their determination to be annexed to Sardinia; and one of the Four Points[3] of Lord John Russell's proposal (17th January, 1860) for the settlement of the Italian question had in effect contemplated their doing so, by a second and more formal vote. Lord John Russell had, in fact, done for the Emperor what the Emperor could not, consistently with his engagements at Villafranca, have done for himself, by putting before Austria as a condition essential for the peace of Europe, that Central Italy should be free to dispose of her own destiny. The Emperor was not slow to avail himself of the advantage thus given to him. Accordingly, his Foreign Minister, M. Thouvenel, while professing (*Despatch to Marquis de Moustier, French Ambassador at*

[3] These four points were: 1. Non-intervention of France and Austria in Italy, unless called upon to intervene by the unanimous assent of the five Great Powers of Europe. 2. French troops, at a convenient time and with proper precautions, to withdraw from Lombardy and Rome. 3. The internal government of Venetia not to be interfered with by the European Powers. 4. Sardinia to be invited by Great Britain and France not to send any troops into Central Italy, until its States and Provinces should, by a new vote of their Assemblies, have declared their wishes as to their future destination.

*Vienna*, 31st January) that 'his Government desired above all things to fulfil its engagements,' acknowledged with sincere and profound regret 'that it was prevented from doing so by the force of circumstances, and avowed his conviction that the only way to cut the knot of the difficulty was the course suggested in the Fourth Point of the English proposals.' Long before this Despatch was written, as has been already shown, the decision of Central Italy had been dealt with by the Emperor as a foregone conclusion, and Sardinia made aware that the agreement of Plombières would be enforced.

A private letter of Lord Cowley's to Lord John Russell (5th February) placed this beyond a doubt. It reported a conversation in which M. Thouvenel had said, that, as there was now every appearance of Sardinia becoming an important kingdom by the annexation of the Duchies and the Romagna, it would be impossible to leave in the hands of that kingdom the passes by which France might be invaded. 'No one could foresee or foretell events, and Sardinia, with a population of fifteen millions, might become a very important element in any future coalition against France. France had a right to take precautions against such an eventuality, and the Emperor could not answer to the French nation if he were to permit Sardinia to be aggrandised at the expense of France, by means of French treasure and French blood. The annexation of Savoy to France had nothing alarming in it. It would not be an act of conquest. It could give no additional strength to France, but it would make her secure on a frontier, which was now entirely open.' This letter was followed by a telegram next day from Lord Cowley, giving the French official reply to the same effect.

In sending this letter and telegram to the Queen (5th February) Lord John Russell wrote:—

'Lord John Russell encloses a private letter from Lord Cowley, which he has read to the Cabinet. It is very unsatisfactory. The same reasons, which are given for the frontier of the Alps, apply more strongly to the frontier of the Rhine, inasmuch as the German armies will at all times be much more formidable than the Piedmontese, Lombards, and Tuscans.

'It seems we are to have no rest in Europe. The Austrians are ready to be quiet, provided they are not attacked at home. This is all that can be fairly asked of them, if they prefer leaving France loose to binding her by an international engagement not to interfere in Italy. But French appetite for change is insatiable.'

Along with Lord Cowley's letter Her Majesty had before her a copy of a Despatch (30th January) of M. Thouvenel to Count Persigny, containing his reply to Lord John Russell's proposal of the Four Points. His assent to the second of these, which prescribed the withdrawal of the French army from the North of Italy, was guarded by the condition that this should not take place until the European Powers had come to an understanding to 'guarantee the new organisation of Italy.'

In reply to Lord John Russell Her Majesty wrote as follows:—

'Windsor Castle, 5th February, 1860.

'Lord Cowley's report and the telegram following it are most unsatisfactory. We have been made regular dupes (which the Queen apprehended and warned against all along). The return to an English alliance, universal peace, respect for treaties, commercial fraternity, &c. &c., were the blinds to cover before Europe a policy of spoliation. We were asked to make proposals about Italy, to "lay the basis for a mutual agreement with France" upon that question, to enable the Emperor "to release himself from his engagements to Austria." In an evil hour the proposal is made, and is now pleaded as the reason for France seizing upon Savoy. "The

Emperor was ready to carry out the Treaty of Zürich, but having agreed, to please England, in a scheme leading to the further aggrandisement of Sardinia, must be compensated by Savoy!" It must be remembered that Count Walewski always declared this as the necessary accompaniment of the annexation of all Central Italy to Sardinia.

'As to the claim itself, it is wanting in all excuse, however ingenious the Emperor may be. Sardinia is being aggrandised solely at the expense of Austria and the House of Lorraine, and France is to be compensated! If the passes of the Alps are dangerous to a neighbour, the weaker Power must give them up to the stronger!

'Bad faith is lurking also in M. Thouvenel's Despatch in answer to Lord John's proposal. France accepts the principle of non-intervention in Italy, but she gives us to understand that she will not withdraw her army from Lombardy, until the Italian question is satisfactorily and permanently settled. This settlement is therefore on the principle of non-intervention to be made under her bayonets!'

To heighten the bewilderment caused by this new feature in the Italian question, tidings came from our Ambassador at Turin, that Count Cavour denied the existence of any existing arrangement for the surrender of Nice and Savoy. 'I declare to you,' were his words to Sir James Hudson, 'that at this moment no engagement of any sort or kind exists between us for the cession of Savoy. If the Savoyards, by a great numerical majority, petition Parliament for separation, the question will be treated parliamentarily. But I tell you frankly, that the best way to meet this question is openly and frankly, and in no other way will I ever consent to meet it. I agree with Lord John [Russell], that the King would be disgraced were he to "*céder, troquer, ou vendre la Savoie.*"'

It was impossible to reconcile this disavowal either with the detailed and exact information which had reached the Government from other quarters, and was by this time the common talk of high political circles, or with the statements of the Emperor and his Foreign Secretary.[4] Lord John Russell lost no time in making the Courts of the Tuileries and of Turin aware of the feeling of indignation and alarm which the existence of any such arrangement would create in England, and of the distrust which it was likely to occasion throughout Europe. His representations were enforced by the unanimous voice of the English press, and also of the leading statesmen on both sides in a discussion which was raised on the subject in the House of Lords by Lord Normanby on the 7th of February. The prevailing sentiment created by the rumour that the proposed annexation was the fulfilment of a compact entered into before the war was expressed in the following passage of a speech by Earl Grey on this occasion:—

'When we remember the language that was used in France before the breaking out of the war, the solemn protestations of her desire, up to the last moment, to preserve peace, her asseverations, even after the war had made some progress, that she had no selfish object in view, and had no intention of

[4] Cavour's words can never be explained to his credit. All that his biographer, M. de Mazade, is able to say for him is this: 'I really do not know whether he did not get out of the dilemma he was in somewhat after the fashion of that Piedmontese Minister of the eighteenth century, the Marquis d'Orméa, who, in a similar situation, when pressed to say whether Sardinia had a treaty with France and Spain, asked that the question should be put in writing. "Is it true that the King of Sardinia has contracted an alliance with France and Spain?" Under this the Marquis d'Orméa wrote without hesitation: "*This alliance* does not exist." There was in fact only a treaty *with France*.'—(*Vie de Cavour*, p. 329.) It would have been far better had Cavour at once avowed the existence of the arrangement, and justified it on the grounds on which he had to justify it in the end: 'The true ground is that the treaty [for the cession of Savoy] is an integral part of our policy, the logical and inevitable consequence of a past policy, and an absolute necessity for the carrying on of this policy in the future.'—(*Speech in Chambers, 12th April*, 1860.)

promoting her territorial aggrandisement—can we believe, that all these assertions were made, while at the same time there existed a private stipulation for dividing the prey, entered into before the quarrel took place, and before the booty could be obtained? If such a compact were entered into between France and Sardinia, I say it would be difficult to find in the annals of the world a case of more flagrant iniquity. I hope these things are not true.'

The hope was echoed by every speaker, and its expression was accompanied by the clearest indications, that, if it should not be realised, the annexation would be regarded as the first active movement of the Emperor towards the extension of the French frontier, which he was known to have at heart, and against which all Europe would thenceforth feel bound to take active precautions.

These strong expressions of opinion created much soreness of feeling in France, which naturally looked for some compensation for its blood and treasure expended in the Italian campaign. They were most unwelcome to the Emperor, who could not now, even if he would, have receded from the position he had taken up. He complained to Lord Cowley (9th February) that 'he should be so much misunderstood, and that nobody ever gave him credit for the sincerity of his intentions.'

'"What," he asked, in the course of the same conversation, "could be more natural than that, if Northern and Central Italy were to be fused into one kingdom, he should desire to have a frontier a little better protected on that side than it now is? It was unfair to call the annexation of a small mountainous district to France by the name of conquest or aggrandisement. It would be nothing but a measure of legitimate defence."

'I remarked,' said Lord Cowley, '"that it was not so much the actual annexation of Savoy to France which caused the distrust that had been manifested on the subject, as the way in which it had been brought forward, in spite of all His Majesty's declarations in going to war. It was not unnatural for Europe to apprehend that France might equally want, in a short time, to put

other parts of the frontier, which she might consider to be weak, in a better state of defence, and might ask, for instance, for the frontier of the Rhine! People," I said, "who knew nothing of His Majesty personally, could only judge him by his acts, and those acts tended to create alarm." '—(*Letter* (10*th February*) *by Lord Cowley to Lord John Russell.*)

Lord Cowley, had he been free to speak his whole thought, would no doubt have met the Emperor's complaint, that he did not get credit for the 'sincerity of his intentions,' by the remark that for France to make a claim on Savoy and Nice, now the war was over, was not calculated to inspire confidence in her sincerity, when she had, both diplomatically and in the personal and public declarations of the Emperor, declared that in going to war she had only the liberation of Italy and no aggrandisement to herself in view. He might also have reminded the Emperor, that it was to these declarations the passive attitude of Europe had been mainly owing. If, moreover, the liberty of Italy was then the object, it must have included the liberty of choosing her own internal government, with the possibility of the constitution of a single powerful State, of which it did not follow of necessity that the King of Sardinia should be the head.

The subject of Savoy and Nice had been introduced by the Emperor himself, and the discussion having gone so far, Lord Cowley thought he might now venture to inquire, what were the arrangements which subsisted between Sardinia and France in regard to the annexation?

Some people said there had been a treaty signed at Prince Napoleon's marriage, to which the Emperor himself even had affixed his signature. Others, that the engagement was of a less solemn nature, though engagement there was. What were the facts?

To this the Emperor replied with a smile, that although secrets were secrets, he had no objection to explain precisely

what had taken place. Previously to Prince Napoleon's marriage, the possibility of war with Austria had been discussed between the French and Sardinian Governments, and, among other arrangements depending on it, it was stipulated on the part of France that, if the events of the war were to give the kingdom of Sardinia a population of ten or twelve million souls, France would put forward a claim to Savoy. These arrangements remained in the form of a project, and, when the war actually took place, he asked Cavour to convert it into a treaty, which Cavour declined, saying that it was not necessary.

So far as Lord Cowley could form a conclusion from this statement, and from what was known through other channels, Cavour had not absolutely admitted the claim of France to Savoy in certain eventualities, but only that it might be discussed between the two Governments. Nevertheless, the Emperor obviously considered him as morally bound to consent to it, and his hesitation about carrying out the arrangement was a subject of great discontent in the Imperial circle. Lord Cowley's opinion was, that there had been fast and loose play,—that Cavour, though by no means pledged, had allowed the Emperor to suppose he might have Savoy, in order to secure his co-operation in the war, and that the Emperor took this for more than it was worth.

The conclusion arrived at by Lord Cowley is probably the true one. Cavour was perhaps not absolutely bound; and would have saved Savoy and Nice if he could. But what he had now to consider was,—could he, without propitiating the Emperor by the sacrifice of these provinces, secure his consent to the incorporation of Central Italy with Sardinia, or, could he, without that consent, effect the liberation of Italy? The treaty of cession of Savoy and Nice to France, signed on the 24th of March, and presented by Cavour to the Sardinian Chambers on the 12th of April following, and

then approved by 229 as against 33 votes, was his answer. But so reluctant was he, that it was not until he was shown by M. Benedetti an order from the Emperor of the French to move the French troops from Lombardy to Tuscany, that he could bring himself to sign the treaty.[5]

Meanwhile the twentieth anniversary of the Royal marriage had come round; and on that day their old friend at Coburg was sure to be foremost in the thoughts of both the Queen and Prince. Full of anxiety as they were about the aspect of affairs in Europe, and the possible results of Mr. Gladstone's statement that evening, they did not, in writing to Baron Stockmar, allude to matters of political interest. The dear anniversary, and what it brought of remembrance, and gratitude, and hope—to speak of that alone was enough for them and him. And it was thus they wrote:—

'I cannot let this day come to a close without writing you a line. It is twenty (!!!) years to-day, since our troth-plight took place in St. James's. I see you still standing in the pew not far from the chancel, as the negotiator of the marriage treaty, when I made my entry into the Chapel between Papa and Ernest! We have gone through much since then, and *tried hard* after much that is *good;* if we have not always succeeded, the will at least was good, and we cannot be sufficiently grateful to heaven for many a blessing and many a success! You have been to us a true friend and

[5] '*Cet acte,*' says M. Artom, speaking of Count Cavour, '*fut le seul de sa vie politique où il n'apporta pas cette sorte de sérénité héroïque qu'il déployait dans les situations les plus graves.*' Sir James Hudson, our Ambassador at Turin, wrote (1st May) to Lord John Russell, 'Cavour resisted some of the demands of Benedetti, and so stoutly, that upon his telling Benedetti, who threatened the withdrawal of the French troops, "that the sooner they were gone, the better," the Frenchman drew a letter from his pocket, which contained the private instructions of the Emperor, and said, "My orders are to withdraw the troops, but not to France. They will occupy Bologna and Florence." And then, but not till then, Cavour knocked under.'

wise counsellor, and if now we are separated by distance, and old age and feeble health do not allow you to lend the same active aid as in days of yore, we are still united in feeling and in spirit, and shall continue the same, so long as this earthly garment shall hang together.

'We are quite well. . . . To-morrow we make our way to town. The children are to give me a surprise forthwith, which is to remain a profound secret to me till half-past six.[6] ALL GOOD be with you.

'ALBERT.'

'One little word I must add on this blessed day! Words cannot express my gratitude and my happiness. I wish I could think I *had made* one as happy as he has made me. But this is not for want of *love and devotion.* Few possess as much. My kindest wishes to you, too!

'VICTORIA.

'Windsor Castle, 10th February, 1860.'

The Commercial Treaty, negotiated by Mr. Cobden, between England and France, had been signed at Paris on the 23rd of January, and ratified on the 4th of February. It had been announced that it would be laid before Parliament on the 6th of February by Mr. Gladstone, and that he would at the same time make his financial statement. Public expectation was greatly disappointed on both points by a delay till the 10th, which was rendered necessary by the illness of Mr. Gladstone, who had set his heart upon the treaty being produced simultaneously with his Budget. The discussions which had arisen in regard to Savoy and Nice had helped to inflame the curiosity of the public. The treaty with a neighbouring State, the conduct of whose Sovereign had

[6] The 'surprise' was a series of *tableaux vivants* by the Royal children in St. George's Hall.

aroused so much angry suspicion as to his ulterior designs, was sure to be jealously scanned; and indeed there would probably have been little disposition to look with favour upon any commercial treaty, had the project of annexation been earlier known.

In a speech of upwards of three hours, Mr. Gladstone explained his Budget, in connection with the provisions of the French treaty, by which its financial arrangements were materially affected. While all were fascinated by the clearness of exposition, the comprehensiveness of view, and the eloquence which distinguished this address, the scheme which it developed provoked much unfavourable criticism.[7]

The balance of revenue and expenditure for the current year had only just been maintained by the expiration of over two millions of Government Annuities, and an unexpected payment from Spain of 500,000*l.* to account of her debt to England. The prospect for the coming year, too, was far from encouraging. It showed a deficit of more than nine millions, the estimated charges being 70,000,000*l.* as against 60,700,000*l.* of estimated income. This deficiency Mr. Gladstone proposed to meet by renewing the Income Tax at an increased rate,—tenpence in the pound on incomes above 150*l.*, and sevenpence on incomes under that amount,—and by continuing the existing high tea and sugar duties. The weight of these burdens all could appreciate. They were imminent and certain. The advantages to result from closer commercial relations with France, and the reduction of the import duties on French wine and brandy, on which Mr. Gladstone mainly rested to persuade the country to bear for a time the disturbance of the equilibrium between its

[7] Sir Edward Bulwer Lytton, in a speech upon the Reform Bill, on the 26th of April of this year, said of this remarkable effort of eloquence, 'Whatever we may think of the Budget it introduced, the speech will remain among the monuments of English eloquence as long as the language lasts.'

revenue and expenditure, were speculative, possibly remote, and in any case open to much discussion.

At once the policy both of the treaty and of the Budget was challenged. But after animated debates in both Houses of Parliament, continued through many months, it was affirmed by large majorities in all important details. In the case of the Budget, however, there was one important exception, the item of a proposed abolition of the Paper duties. This proposal, which in other circumstances would have been generally welcome, and was objected to mainly on the ground that in the face of so large a deficit it was wholly inopportune, narrowly escaped defeat even in the House of Commons, 210 having voted against it on the third reading of the Bill, while only 219 voted for it. When the measure came before the House of Lords (21st May) it was rejected by a majority of no less than 89.

No skill in the handling of figures less consummate, no rhetoric less persuasive, than those of Mr. Gladstone, no confidence less robust than that entertained by the country in his sagacity as a financier, could have carried a Budget so startling and so bold with success through the storm of opposition which it had to encounter. The treaty with France, on which it so largely rested, had fallen out of favour with many who had at first been well disposed to it, from the moment their trust in the sincerity of the Emperor had been shaken. Such advantages as it offered seemed too like a lure to conciliate objections to the annexation of Savoy,—an imputation freely launched against it, indeed, by the French Protectionists. And even these advantages seemed to be more than counterbalanced by those which under the treaty France had secured for herself. What she most wanted, our coal and iron, we bound ourselves to give to her for ten years free of duty, while we were also pledged to abolish all duties on French manufactured goods, and to

reduce the duty on brandy from 15*s.* to 8*s.* 2*d.*, and on wine from 5*s.* to 3*s.* These changes were to take immediate effect; while, on the other hand, France retained all her prohibitory duties on English productions unaltered until the 1st of October, 1861, when she engaged, not to abolish them, as we had done, but only to reduce them to a maximum *ad-valorem* duty of 30 per cent., to be lowered to 25 per cent. after the lapse of three years. On the whole, however, the manufacturers of England were not dissatisfied with the arrangements. The treaty was a step in the right direction, and calculated as it was to bind the two countries closer together by the ties of mutual interest, it would, under ordinary circumstances, have been received with general favour, and not with the cold and grudging assent by which it was ultimately adopted by Parliament.'

On the 8th of March the House of Commons, by a majority of 282 to 56, adopted a motion, by Mr. Byng, for an Address to Her Majesty, expressing its satisfaction with the treaty. This result relieved the Emperor of the French from apprehensions that it might be rejected, which had not unnaturally been awakened by the vehement language used in Parliament on the subject of the annexation of Savoy; and on the 11th he wrote to Lord Cowley, begging him to convey to Mr. Gladstone his thanks for a copy which that gentleman had sent him of his Budget speech, in terms studiously framed to allay the irritation and distrust which the Emperor was by this time painfully conscious he had aroused. After saying that he will preserve the speech 'as a precious *souvenir* of a man who has my thorough esteem, and whose eloquence is of a lofty character commensurate with the grandeur of his views,' the Emperor continued:—

'I am glad of the success which the English Ministry have obtained; for the approval of the Commercial Treaty must of necessity restore to their normal state the political relations of

the two countries. Despite the difficulties which surround me, despite the prejudices which still exist in France, as they do in England, I shall always continue to do everything in my power to cement more and more closely the alliance of the two nations, for it is my profound conviction that their harmonious action is indispensable for the good of civilisation, and that their antagonism would be a calamity to all. While saying this, I would ask you, my dear Lord Cowley, to forgive me, if occasionally I give too warm expression to the pain I feel at seeing the animosities and the prejudices of another age springing up afresh in England, like those weeds that will spring up fresh and fresh, let ploughshare and harrow do what they will. Let us hope that the science of politics will make as much progress as agriculture and industry, and that man's intelligence will bring his evil passions under subjection, as it has already shown itself able to dominate matter.'

The appeal here made to Lord Cowley's forgiveness had reference to a passage of arms which had taken place between the Emperor and himself at a concert at the Tuileries a few nights before. Smarting under the severity of the remarks upon his conduct in the House of Commons the night previously,[8] the Emperor, in making the round of the diplo-

[8] What was then said was but a renewal of what had been said with no less bitterness on several previous occasions, sometimes in language calculated to offend the French nation no less than the Emperor. The danger of this was obvious, and on the 3rd of March, Mr. Bright spoke out what many thought when he said, 'The opposition, if you give it, must be futile; you cannot prevent the transference of Savoy, but you may, if you like, embroil Europe and bring England into collision with France. I say, Perish Savoy!—though Savoy, I believe, will not perish and will not suffer—rather than we, the representatives of the people of England, should involve the Government of this country with the people and the Government of France on a matter in which we have really no interest whatever.' Some other things said in the same speech, however, laid the speaker open to a very telling rejoinder from Lord John Manners. '"Perish Savoy!" says the honourable gentleman; perish the freedom of the press; perish constitutional government; perish everything which stands in the way of the expansion of a trade with France! But the hon. gentleman went so far as to say it mattered nothing, whether France annexed this or that country; for the statement which he made was general. "Annex Savoy!" it is natural it should be annexed; he has received information—he does not tell us from what quarter—that the people of Savoy wish it. Annex Belgium! The hon. gentle-

matic circle between the first and second parts of the concert, addressed some hasty words to Lord Cowley in the hearing of some of his colleagues, which Lord Cowley was not disposed to pass over in silence, as M. Hübner on a recent memorable occasion had done. In a manner and tone very unusual with him, the Emperor animadverted upon the hostile sentiments evinced towards him in the English Parliament and press. His Majesty must be aware, rejoined Lord Cowley, wishing to avoid discussion at so unseasonable a moment, that there was quite as great irritation against England expressed in France. Was this to be wondered at, the Emperor replied, considering the terms and imputations applied in England to himself and to the French nation? They were only defending themselves against unfair attacks. 'It was,' he continued, 'really too bad. He had done all in his power to maintain a good understanding with England, but her conduct rendered this impossible. What had England to do with Savoy? And why was she not satisfied with the declaration he had made to me, that he had no intention to annex Savoy to France without having previously obtained the consent of the Great Powers?'

To this Lord Cowley rejoined with unanswerable force, that the Emperor had never said his action would depend upon the consent of the other European Powers. Had he been authorised to convey that assurance to Her Majesty's Government, the interpellations in Parliament which had roused the Emperor's indignation would long since have ceased, and Her Majesty's Government and the country would have calmly awaited the decision at which the Great Powers might arrive. Some further words passed, when the Emperor,

man will be able no doubt, at the proper moment, to inform the House of Commons he has information in his pocket that the people of Belgium wish to be annexed. Annex the Rhenish provinces of Germany! We shall have a similar statement from the hon. gentleman.'

turning to the Russian Ambassador, General Kisseleff, in whose hearing this conversation had taken place, remarked that the conduct of England was inexplicable. He had done all he could to keep on the best terms with her, but he was at his wit's end. What had England to do with Savoy? What would have been the consequence, if, when she took possession of the island of Perim for the safety of her Eastern dominions, he had raised the same objections that she had now raised to the annexation of Savoy, which he wanted as much for the safety of France?

The position of Lord Cowley was most embarrassing, and he was still meditating how he should deal with the difficulty, when the Emperor again came up to him, and was beginning in the same strain. This time, happily, no one was by. Lord Cowley at once checked the further progress of remarks in a direction already sufficiently dangerous, by saying that he considered himself justified in calling the Emperor's attention to the unusual course he had adopted, in indulging, in presence of the Russian Ambassador, in animadversions on the conduct of England. That His Majesty, Lord Cowley added, if he had, or thought he had, cause for remonstrance, should address himself to him, was not only natural, but the very course he should always beg His Majesty to take, because discussion was the safety-valve for pent-up feeling. Or, if His Majesty thought it right to complain of the conduct of England to the Russian Ambassador, good and well, so that it was not done in his (Lord Cowley's) presence. But it was not compatible with his own dignity or the dignity of the Government he represented, that complaints respecting England should be addressed to him in the hearing of the Russian Ambassador, or to the Russian Ambassador in his hearing. Leaving then the official tone, Lord Cowley appealed to the Emperor to consider whether he had been properly dealt with, remembering

the personal regard, and the anxiety to smooth over difficulties between the two Governments, which in his official capacity he had always shown, even at the risk of exposing himself to be suspected of being more French than he ought to be.

The Emperor felt at once the mistake he had made, and with an earnestness which placed his regret beyond a doubt, again and again assured Lord Cowley that he had spoken without any bad intention. He had just read what had occurred in Parliament the night before, and was greatly hurt at the strictures passed upon his conduct. It was not of the Government either that he had spoken, but of those who attacked him; and he begged Lord Cowley would think no more of what had occurred.

Before the conversation broke off, Lord Cowley had an opportunity of putting the true state of the case very plainly before his Imperial host. Had Prussia, or one of the Continental Powers, said the Emperor, taken up the question of Savoy, he could have understood it, but not a word of remonstrance had proceeded from any of them. That silence, Lord Cowley at once replied, could scarcely be relied on as indicating approbation; but however this might be, the position of Her Majesty's Government was very different from that of the other Powers. How could they remain silent in presence of the questions respecting Savoy, which were put to them night after night?—questions put, not so much because of the actual plan of annexing Savoy as of the circumstances attending the whole transaction. They were, in fact, questions caused by mistrust. And how could it be otherwise? What could the English people think on its becoming known, in spite of His Majesty's declarations both before and during the war, that, in going to war, he meditated no special advantages for France, that overtures had positively been made to Sardinia

months before for the eventual cession of Savoy? Why had His Majesty not told us fairly, in commencing the war, that if, by the results of the war, the territory of Sardinia should be greatly augmented, he might be obliged, in deference to public opinion in France, to ask for some territorial advantage? Such a declaration, although it might have rendered the British Government still more anxious to prevent the war, would have prevented all the manifestation of public opinion of which His Majesty complained.

The Emperor could not but feel the weight of these observations, to which it was impossible to reply; neither was it in the Emperor's character, in which candour to an adversary formed a large element, to resent them. It was certainly to the honour of both the parties, that owing to the firmness of the one, and the readiness to admit his error in the other, no evil consequences ensued from an incident which might easily have resulted in serious consequences. In sending Lord Cowley's account of it to the Queen, Lord John Russell wrote: 'The strange scene related in it will remind your Majesty of some scenes already famous in the history of Napoleon I. and Napoleon III. Lord John Russell,' he added, 'requests your Majesty's permission to write a secret Despatch in answer, entirely approving the conduct and language of Lord Cowley.'

To this letter Her Majesty replied:—

'Osborne, 10th March, 1860.

'The Queen, in returning Lord Cowley's private letter and secret despatch, agrees with Lord John Russell that he has deserved praise for his mode of answering the Emperor's Napoleonic address. The circumstance is useful, as proving that the Emperor, if met with firmness, is more likely to retract than if cajoled, and that the statesmen of Europe have much to answer for, for having spoiled him in the last

ten years by submission and cajolery. The expressions of opinion in the House of Commons have evidently much annoyed the Emperor . . .; but they have also had their effect in making him reflect. If Europe were to stand together, and make an united declaration against the annexation of Savoy, the evil might still be arrested, but less than that will not suffice. The Emperor's last concession to Lord Cowley is still very vague, leaving him free to do very much what he pleases.'

The concession to which the Queen refers was contained in the Emperor's words to Lord Cowley: 'It is not likely I should act against the advice of all Europe.' It was, in effect, no concession at all, as the Emperor must have been at this time very well aware that two, at least, of the Great Powers, Russia and Austria, would make no protest against Sardinia being despoiled by her ally. So late as the 5th of March, in the debate in the House of Commons, by which the Emperor had been so greatly annoyed, Lord John Russell had expressed his personal conviction, that, if the language of disapproval were heard in Berlin, in Vienna, and in St. Petersburg, the project of annexation would not be persevered in. This conviction he had soon occasion to abandon. The other Powers were not indisposed to let the French Emperor know, that his theory of natural frontiers was one they could not admit, and that any attempt to apply it in other quarters would meet with general resistance, but none of them were inclined to join in an effective protest against the carrying out of the arrangement between the Courts of the Tuileries and of Turin, as the price of the Emperor's consent to the erection of Northern and Central Italy into one kingdom with Sardinia.

## CHAPTER XCIX.

On the 11th and 12th of March, a vote by ballot and universal suffrage took place in Tuscany and the Æmilia on the question, whether these were to be erected into a separate kingdom, or to be incorporated with Sardinia. By an overwhelming majority the latter alternative was adopted, and the homage of these States was forthwith presented at Turin by Signor Farini on behalf of the Æmilia, and by Baron Ricasoli on behalf of Tuscany, and accepted by King Victor Emmanuel.

It only now remained to carry out the counterpart of the arrangement. When the intended annexation of Savoy to France first became known, Switzerland became alarmed, and claimed that the districts of Chablais and Faucigny, which had been handed over in 1815 to Sardinia under a guarantee for their neutrality, should be transferred to Switzerland, as a measure of protection to their frontier. The Swiss Government were for a time induced by M. Thouvenel to believe that their claim would be entertained. Count Cavour, on the other hand, had frankly told them from the first to expect no concession, and that France would take her stand upon the ground that her obligations to Europe were satisfied by her agreeing to accept the transfer of Savoy, subject to the conditions as to maintaining the neutrality of Chablais and Faucigny imposed on Sardinia by the Treaty of Vienna in 1815. So soon as the annexation of Savoy was assured, this attitude was definitively taken up by France.

M. Thouvenel addressed to the representatives of the Great Powers (13th March) a long and laboured justification of the annexation of Savoy and Nice, which, he maintained, was an adequate fulfilment of his master's pledge that they should be consulted. A Conference of the Powers was proposed to settle what conditions should be arranged for maintaining the neutrality of Chablais and Faucigny. Much diplomatic action was wasted in an attempt to bring about this Conference. But the project, as will presently be seen, ultimately fell through. The attention of Europe, turned to the sudden and startling development of events in Southern Italy, which followed on the incorporation of the Central States with Sardinia, was diverted from the grievance and probable danger to Switzerland; and the Swiss Confederation, after a vain appeal to the European Powers, was compelled to submit to the disappointment of its hopes.

While these events were in progress, the Prince received the following letter from the Prince Regent of Prussia, in reply to his own of the 25th of January (p. 21 *supra*). 'It speaks his mind so openly,' said the Prince Consort, writing (12th March) to Lord John Russell, 'that I had it translated for your and Lord Palmerston's perusal:'

'Berlin, 4th March, 1860.

'I put off answering you from day to day, as I was always counting on some termination to the political crisis, which would admit of a survey both retrospective and prospective. This point seems to me now to have been reached, the answers of Prussia and of Russia to the English Four Points having been given, and the English Ministry having spoken out boldly in Parliament against Napoleon and his desire to incorporate Savoy.

'That Prussia and Russia would not give an unqualified assent to the principle of popular sovereignty was to be

anticipated. Napoleon has consequently himself given up this point in his last set of proposals, and dropped the idea of a fresh vote by universal suffrage. He makes, moreover, an energetic stand against the annexation of Tuscany to Sardinia, while he is ready to countenance the annexation of the two small Duchies. Thus, no doubt, a great part of the Peace of Villafranca is unquestionably upset; but the situation of the two Duchies is of such a nature, that even we, who must always take our stand upon the basis of legitimacy, must soon be forced to acknowledge a *fait accompli*, as years ago we did in the case of Belgium.

'I have nothing to say against the kind of suzerainty which is proposed to cut the knot of the difficulty about the Romagna; though it is merely an expedient, to which the Pope will have to submit.[1] But as Venetia is now to be left untouched, the programme *jusqu'à l'Adriatique* is happily not fulfilled: consequently, therefore, the Savoy-Nice annexation is in no way justified, while, at the same time, your energetic protest against this annexation is justified. At your request we have given our opinion to the same effect, although, according to Napoleon's Speech from the Throne, this question is to be laid before the Great Powers—a step from which a very different kind of answer may be expected, if a previous understanding be come to by England and Prussia, as well as by Russia probably, and by Austria certainly. This appears to me in the end, after long vacilla-

[1] The Prince Regent refers here to the second of three propositions, which, finding that Austria demurred to the most material of the English Four Points, M. Thouvenel had, on the 13th of February, propounded for a settlement of the Italian question. These were: 1. Annexation of the Duchies to Sardinia. 2. Temporal administration of the Legations of the Romagna, under the form of a *Vicariat*, exercised by the King of Sardinia, in the name of the Holy See. 3. Re-establishment of Tuscany in its political and territorial independence. M. Thouvenel could never have intended these propositions to do more than keep up the game of diplomatic word-play, while the negotiations between himself and Count Cavour were being matured.

tion of opinion, to be a point on which the Four Powers are in accord; so that, without forming any coalition, or even alliance, a moral consensus of opinion may be opposed to the French desire of annexation. To me this seems to be of the last importance at the present juncture. No one is more interested in the question than Prussia and Germany, because of the left bank of the Rhine, which corresponds exactly to what the *versants des Alpes* as a geographical protective line would be, in the event of an invasion by the Alpine passes. In this point of view we are therefore more interested, and bound to speak out against schemes of annexation of this kind, than all the other Great Powers, so that an approval of them may not at some future day be cited against us as a precedent, and that you, too, may not by acquiescence now have to take part some day in forcing upon us a surrender of the left bank of the Rhine.

'Another point to which Prussia could not assent is that of the recognition of non-intervention as a principle. You say very truly in your letter (p. 23 *supra*), that no one should be constrained to accept a form of government by force of arms. But is it not equally just, when you are appealed to for assistance by the legitimate Sovereigns, to protect them from being forced to accept revolutionary forms of government? There is only one exception admissible, and that is where the people have covenanted rights on their side, as in the case of Schleswig-Holstein. In Italy it is quite different. There the Sovereigns have on their side rights secured to them by treaty, and all that the people desire is seasonable reforms, which unhappily the Sovereigns have failed to grant at the right time. But they have not on their side any covenanted rights to such reforms. At the same time the probability is, that the failure of these Sovereigns to grant reform at the right time will result in their being deposed. Oh, that this example might open the eyes of many a German

Sovereign! But, so far from its doing so, they grow blinder and blinder.

'That Napoleon would remain master of the situation in the questions of Commerce and of the Church has been my conviction from the first. But I was not so convinced that he would win over public opinion in England to look with favour on the Commercial Treaty. The vote of Parliament shows, however, beyond a doubt, that it will be accepted. I entirely agree with you that it may prove to be of importance to Germany, and that the Customs Union will ultimately adapt itself to the Free-trade principles, after which Prussia has constantly been striving, but striving in vain.'

Lord John Russell, in returning the translation of this letter to the Prince, speaks of his Royal Highness's opinions as 'very fairly and honestly expressed.' The following is the Prince's reply to the Prince Regent:—

'Osborne, 15th March, 1860.

'We have no doubt reached a point at which a common accord of the Powers is possible. But whether this point will not have slipped away before we have come to an understanding is hard to say; for events in Italy are developing at a rapid pace. . . . The most formidable impediment to the execution of the whole plan was no doubt Switzerland. . . . Here the indignation is general, and the Ministry are quite sound upon the question. But England neither can nor will go to war about Savoy. As yet Russia has not spoken. Austria has made no secret of her satisfaction, that Sardinia has had a taste in her own person of her own annexation principle. You are late in speaking out: still the note which Count Pourtales has been commissioned to communicate at Paris, will have an impressive effect.

'I take leave to advert to some matters, in which you

appear to assume that there was a wider difference on a point of principle between yourselves and us than really exists. We do not make a stand upon the principle of popular sovereignty, according to which a nation might vote itself over from one ruler to another (this would be illustrated in the case of Savoy, against which we protested), neither do we recognise universal suffrage. But as the Italian States have *de facto* emancipated themselves from their rulers, and these have left the country, we acknowledge a right in the people to determine for themselves their own future destiny. The principle of non-intervention which our proposals set up, is not one which we accept in theory as universally applicable, but has reference to the special case of maintenance of peace and the establishment of lasting tranquillity in Italy. Since the days of Charlemagne, that is, for the last thousand years, Italy has been torn to pieces by German and French intervention. Now she is bent on trying to organise herself, and to be governed for her own advantage instead of being used for that of her two neighbours. England therefore proposes that these neighbours shall for once keep their fingers out of the business, and hopes in this way also to keep them from falling out with each other.

'England trusts to find in a strong Italy a new and influential member of the family of European States. France and Austria naturally must look with alarm upon such a new neighbour and kinsman, or, at least, they cannot bring themselves to hail its growth with satisfaction, because in lieu of what is now merely a field for working their own ends, a State will be created, which is amply qualified to assert a claim to be respected, and to have its independence admitted.

'Prussia is so situated, that her interest in this matter is identical with that of England. I am well aware, that a number of considerations are mixed up in the question, which

require to be very carefully weighed, and which will have a decisive influence hereafter. But for the moment my object has been to explain to you, in its naked simplicity, the principle by which the whole action of England is actuated. . . .

'Our Commercial Treaty will now be carried, not without a good deal of grumbling on the part of the public. . . . It was, however, too important, and its rejection would have involved consequences too serious, for us not to have adopted it. So Parliament has accepted it, but, while doing so, has rated the Emperor roundly, who is very indignant. . . .'

Two days afterwards (17th March), the Prince speaks out his mind even more freely about the state of affairs, in writing to Baron Stockmar:—

'It has just struck me, that it is again a long time since I last wrote to you. The interval has not been without importance to the world, but it has not, I fear, brought it much good. . . .'

The Prince then goes into the questions of Nice and Savoy, in which he considered that the projects of the Emperor of the French had been helped on by what he calls 'the worse than stupidity of the other Powers.' The Queen and himself, he mentions, had all along seen the danger which lay in the English proposal of the Four Points, which was just what the Emperor wanted to liberate him from the treaties of Villafranca and Zürich. Foreseeing what would happen, they had pointed it out to the Ministry, but in vain. Scarcely had the English proposals served their purpose, before the claim for Savoy was set up. To this demand opposition from Switzerland was chiefly to be dreaded by France. To conciliate her apprehensions intimations had been made in all sorts of semi-official ways, that Chablais and Faucigny

would fall to her share. In this way her active support had been secured, and now that all was made safe in other quarters, France was determined to keep all.

'To increase the difficulty of opposition on our part,' the Prince continued, 'the will of the people, which we have set up in the case of Italy, is also to decide in Savoy. Yesterday arrived the tidings of an arrangement with Sardinia, by which this voice is to be heard after the cession to France![2] Russia gives her silent assent; Austria intimates her delight that Sardinia is to have justice meted out to her according to her own code; Prussia is, as usual, timorous and undecided; and so one of the most perilous arrangements is brought about, which Europe, and Prussia in particular, could by possibility have had to face!

'The Commercial Treaty is concluded. Gladstone's Budget has also passed, and he has sent the Emperor Napoleon a copy of his great speech, by which he excited the admiration of the House of Commons and the press. . . .

'Gladstone is now the real leader of the House of Commons, and works with an energy and vigour altogether incredible. . . .

'The Reform Bill is very democratic, but scarcely excites as much attention as a Turnpike Trust Bill.[3] Apparently it is a matter of indifference to the House what happens. For party purposes it is generally desired that this Ministry may carry through a Reform Bill, and what its tenor may be makes little difference, especially as the Conservatives' Bill of last year was as democratic as any Bill could well be.'

[2] The vote on the question of annexation of Savoy and Nice to France was not taken till about a month after the execution of the treaty for their cession. The voting closed on the 23rd of April, when in Savoy 130,533 were reported to have voted for annexation, and 235 against; and in Nice 25,743 for, and 160 against. The figures told conclusively how well the suffrages had been manipulated by the French agents, who were already in full possession of the country.

[3] It had been introduced on the 1st of March.

Leaving politics, the Prince then speaks of the Baron's friends, Lord Granville, whose wife 'the Almighty released from her sufferings three days ago,' and the Duke of Newcastle, who, besides domestic troubles, 'has lost the sight of one eye, and is very low.'[4] He is able to tell him that Prince Alfred, who was then at home, had made great progress. 'He is very clever, and infinitely busy and active. His confirmation is fixed for Easter.' The Prince holds out the prospect to his friend of seeing the Prince of Wales at Coburg at Easter, and then concludes:—

'The spring has hitherto been so unwholesome and disagreeable that I have been almost always ailing. In London I had the real influenza with fever, and now a cold is hanging about me. It can scarcely fail to have put you, too, somewhat out of sorts. We must hope better things for the future,—a harmless occupation.'

In a letter of the Prince's to his daughter about this time, we find mention of another of the Baron's friends, whose fast failing health caused deep regret to both the Queen and Prince. 'On Sunday,' he writes, 'I visited Lord Aberdeen, who has become a mere wreck; he is no longer able to walk or stand. His head is still *clear* and *strong*, and therefore he feels his condition all the more. That the *best* are torn from us thus, is very sad.'

From the Prince's letters to the same correspondent at this period we extract the following passages:—

[4] For the Duke of Newcastle the Prince entertained a warm personal regard. In a letter to the Queen (1st February, 1863) the Duke says of himself: 'He would be heartless indeed if he were unmindful of the cordial, yet delicate manner in which the Prince Consort often sought to soothe with sympathy, which could hardly have been expected from a brother, the anxieties of an aching heart. On the very last occasion, on which his Royal Highness asked some questions about a then fresh sorrow, the tears rolled down his cheeks as he offered some words of consolation.'

'Buckingham Palace, 7th March, 1860.

'The lowering of import duties, according to all *practical experience*, increases consumption, so that larger imports are made than under the higher tariff. It is not the few, who are able to pay largely, that produce large amounts, but the multitude, who individually are able to pay but little; and therefore the Revenue gains by the reduction of duties, and ours has done so enormously.

'Protected industries do not thrive because, but in despite, of protection. This is a theorem that has been proved to absolute demonstration. A country's industrial power is something quite irrespective of its size. Windsor is a little place with fourteen thousand inhabitants, and competes in the manufacture of soap with London, which has two millions and a half. Dorsetshire is smaller than Prussia, and yet it has to compete with all England.'

'Osborne, 14th March, 1860.

'The snow is now, I am glad to say, gone, and the camellias blossom again more freely; not a few conceited and too forward buds have been destroyed, however, by the frost at their first outburst. The fragrant heath (*Haide*), which commonly is long past its bloom about this time, has not yet begun to blossom. Still, I have not lost one of my pet plants. Of the alterations in progress, there is nothing to speak of, but a new line that has been given to the road between Barton and the Barton Cottages, which, to the eye of an artist, gardener, and lover of nature, is a great improvement, although it will escape the notice of the unreflecting many.

'. . . Prussia's position is a weak one, and will continue to be so, as long as she does not morally dominate Germany; and to be herself German is the secret to bring this about. .

'Nobody will be inclined to go to war about Savoy, but "*le concert Européen*" would be a powerful check to similar tricks in the future.'

'Osborne, 21st March, 1860.

'In politics, one must never assume that a point may be reached, which may be compared with the end of the world. The world goes on, and must go on; and there are *ups* and *downs*, but the individual should never say, "Only *so* far will I go and no further," if things do not turn out precisely as he wishes; just as little as a soldier would be justified in quitting his regiment in the midst of the war, because it is upon the cards that a battle may be lost. . . .'

The indifference of the public to the question of Reform, of which the Prince speaks (*supra*, p. 51), became more and more apparent as the Session advanced. The defeat upon their measure of Reform had caused the downfall of the Derby Administration, and they and their party would have cordially rejoiced at the settlement of a question, which, so long as it was left open, was certain to be used as a weapon of attack by their adversaries, should the Conservative party return to power. It was not their policy therefore to have resisted any measure which commanded the serious support of the country. But the country had no wish to disturb the existing state of things. It had been alarmed by the extreme proposals of Mr. Bright and his friends in the previous autumn to throw the preponderance of power into the hands of the masses, and to use this power for charging upon land and realised property the whole financial burdens of the State. Moreover, in the presence of what was generally believed to be a real danger to the peace of Europe, the present was thought to be an inconvenient time for bringing forward any material changes in the franchise. These considerations were strongly present to the minds of many members of the Cabinet, and especially

to those of their number to whom the financial scheme of Mr. Gladstone seemed of paramount importance, and who were anxious to have its details pressed forward while the effect was still fresh of his brilliant oratory, and of a triumphant majority of 116, by which the Government had (23rd February) defeated a motion by Mr. Ducane, affirming that it was not expedient to 'add to the existing deficiency by diminishing the ordinary revenue, and to disappoint public expectation by reimposing the Income Tax at an unreasonably high rate.'

The 1st of March was, however, a day dear to Lord John Russell as that on which, twenty-nine years before, he had introduced his great measure of Parliamentary Reform. On that day, therefore, he decided on bringing forward the measure which he thought was required by the altered circumstances of the constituency. By it the franchise was to be lowered from 10*l.* to 6*l.*, and twenty-five seats were to be taken from small places which returned two members, and to be distributed among other constituencies. The same evening Lord Palmerston wrote to the Queen that Lord John's statement 'was listened to without any marks of approbation on the one hand, or of disapprobation on the other.' This passive state did not, however, continue long. Two nights afterwards, when the second reading of the Bill was moved, Mr. Disraeli opened fire against all its details. At the same time he intimated that he should neither oppose the second reading, nor pledge himself to propose amendments in committee, but expressed a hope that, before the Bill reached that stage, the Government would withdraw it. He had probably discerned by this time that the Bill was so little cared about by the country and so little liked by the Government's own supporters, that he might spare himself the fatigue and the odium of a resolute opposition.

The debate on the second reading was adjourned from

time to time. In reporting to the Queen an adjourned debate on the second reading on the 26th of April, seven weeks after it had been moved, a delay in itself ominous of ultimate failure, Lord Palmerston wrote: 'It is evident the dislike of the Bill is a growing feeling in the House, and not confined to the Opposition side. The objections felt are two-fold: first, to the lowness of the franchise; next, to the prospect of a Dissolution consequent on the passing of the Bill.' These objections gained in force as time advanced. Wide differences of opinion were found to exist as to the numbers which the Bill would add to the constituencies, and the Government had in effect admitted the necessity of further inquiry by assenting, on the 19th of April, to a motion by Earl Grey for a committee to inquire what this increase would probably be, and whether it was likely to make any and what change in the character of the constituencies. Although, therefore, the Bill was read a second time on the 3rd of May without a division, and the 4th of June fixed for going into committee upon it, its fate was obviously sealed. Accordingly, after two more nights spent in debate, no one was surprised at the announcement that what *The Times* of that day called 'the catastrophe so earnestly desired by the Opposition, and still more earnestly by the great majority of the Ministerial side of the House,' had arrived. When the intimation that the Bill had been withdrawn was made to the House of Commons by Lord John Russell (11th June), 'it was received almost in silence.'—(*Letter of Lord Palmerston to the Queen.*)

Thus was the question of Parliamentary reform laid on the shelf for a time. Lord John Russell was himself satisfied that it should be so. On the 16th of November, 1860, he wrote to Lord Palmerston:—

'The apathy of the country is undeniable, nor is it a transient humour. It seems rather a confirmed habit of mind. Four Reform Bills have been introduced of late years, one by my Go-

vernment, one by Lord Aberdeen's, one by Lord Derby's, and one by yours. For not one of these has there been the least enthusiasm. I was told by a Lancashire deputation last Session, that if we had brought forward a bolder and a larger measure of disfranchisement and enfranchisement, it would have been immensely popular. But Bright's plan, which went much further than ours, only excited more opposition and more general dislike.

'My conclusion is, that the advisers of the Crown of all parties having offered to the country various measures of Reform, and the country having shown themselves indifferent to them all, the best course which can now be taken is to wait till the country shows a manifest desire for an amendment of the representation. Of course the Government and the Liberal party would be liable to great reproach and very unfair charges. But this is better than dragging an imperfect measure through a reluctant Parliament, and enforcing it on an unwilling country.'

As he read this letter, Lord Palmerston must have smiled to think how much trouble and discomfort might have been spared to his own and former Cabinets, if Lord John Russell had not hitherto trusted so implicitly to his own conviction, that the one great wish of the country was a change in its representation.

## CHAPTER C.

THE theory of 'natural frontiers,' which had in the first instance been put forward as the reason for annexing Savoy and Nice to France, had excited so much alarm throughout Europe, that M. Thouvenel found it expedient to change his ground, in the elaborate manifesto already spoken of (p. 45, *supra*), which he addressed to the Great Powers in the form of a Despatch to Count Persigny, on the 13th of March. 'It is not,' he wrote, 'in the name of ideas of nationality, it is not as natural frontiers, that we desire the annexation; it is only by way of guarantee . . . and in name of the principles of public law, to ensure that existing treaties may not be made more onerous for us in those particulars, in which they had been framed in a spirit which time has, I hope, contributed to efface.' These were fair words by which nobody was deceived, for precisely the same line of justification, it was obvious, would be equally available, whenever France saw her way to making less onerous to herself those other stipulations of the existing treaties with regard to the limits of her territory, which her Sovereign was well known to regard as having been framed in the same spirit of injustice to France.

Of all men the Prince Consort was least likely to be deceived by such language. The Emperor had succeeded too well in his first attempt to break down the Treaties of 1815, to be likely to pause in his efforts to secure such further alterations, as he had told the Prince at Osborne, in August 1857, were,

in his opinion, essential to the lasting peace of Europe (*ante*, vol. iv. p. 109). This view was shared by Her Majesty, who, in writing on the 20th of March to Lord John Russell, expressed her fear 'that it will not be long before the union of Europe for her safety against a common enemy may become a painful necessity.'

The same conviction had by this time taken strong hold of the leaders of the English Cabinet. Their confidence in the French alliance had been thoroughly shaken, and they felt the necessity of considering whether some combination might not be formed, which might hold in check any further plans for the disturbance of the general peace. They were aware, on the best authority, that the French Emperor's mind was at this very time full of the idea of still further annexations, for the purpose, as he said, of securing France against attack, and, by giving her a strong strategical frontier, enabling her to reduce her standing army to a scale that would weigh less oppressively upon her resources. On the south-western frontier, France, he was in the habit of saying, was sufficiently protected by the natural frontier of the Pyrenees. By the annexation of Savoy and Nice, she had acquired the protection of the Alps, which she had needed for her safety on the south-eastern frontier. On the east she was made safe by the neutrality of Switzerland, while Belgium did the same office for her on the north. To complete the line of defence, it was necessary for France to obtain some territory on the side towards Germany. The frontier on this side had been imposed upon France in 1815 —the phrase had become stereotyped—in a spirit of distrust and even of menace. It must be extended so as to include the Palatinate, which belonged to Bavaria, the fortress of Landau and the districts of Saarbruck and Saarlouis; and then France would feel sufficiently secured against attack to be able to bring down her standing army to the same scale

as England, and so to lighten the intolerable burden of her Military Budget.

This result the Emperor professed his anxiety to arrive at by peaceful means. Why, he argued, should it not be effected by negotiation, without awakening apprehensions of a desire for conquest? All Europe was interested in satisfying the legitimate wishes of France; because, if France were enabled to disarm, the other Powers would no longer have occasion to keep up the large standing armies which were eating up their resources, and making impossible for them the development of industry and prosperity which made England the object of envy to all other European States.

The only basis for such negotiations must of necessity be a transaction with Prussia, and such a transaction the known loyalty of the Prince Regent to Germany was certain to reject. No bribe of support in schemes for extending Prussia to the North would induce her to connive at the absorption of an inch of German soil to swell the territories of France. But her rejection of overtures of this kind might be made a cause of quarrel; and the active hostility of France to Austria, after she had failed to bribe that Power into breaking the compact of 1815, by offering to support her if she took possession of the Danubian Principalities, was a recent instance of what might be expected in this way. Again, as Austria was still sore at having been unsupported by Prussia in the Italian war, it was open to the Emperor of the French to tempt her, by promises of support in her difficulties with Italy about Venetia, to withhold her aid from Prussia, in the event of an attack by France upon the Rhine. In this way the Emperor had the power,—and it was manifestly his purpose—to keep these Powers separated from each other, and to win over one or other of them to his views by offers of arrangement suited to the separate interests of each, on condition that it should connive at, or con-

cur in some scheme of territorial aggrandisement, or plan for the acquisition of some important political influence projected by the Government of France.

The immediate danger to Europe was therefore on the German frontier; and the want of cohesion among the German States, and their jealousies of each other and of Prussia, seemed almost to invite intrigue and aggression on the part of France. French agents were known to be actively at work in some of the border States, seeking to familiarise the people there, according to the tactics which had been successfully practised in Savoy, with the idea of the advantages of incorporation with a powerful monarchy like that of France. A march on the Rhine was openly talked of in the saloons of Paris as imminent. The people of the Rhenish Provinces were sound in their feelings, and yearning for such an union as would give to Germany the compactness and strength which would alone make an aggressor pause. But how was this union to be effected, with Austria and Prussia both bidding for supremacy, each with its adherents among the lesser princes, and neither strong enough to act with vigour, or liberal enough to inaugurate and command general support for a national policy? Prussia, fully alive to the peril of the position, was at work to improve her military organisation, and to secure unity of command and action in the event of war against Germany. But the rulers of the other States had not sufficiently recognised how essential these were for the national defence, and how useless it was to look to any other quarter for a rallying centre, and they were consequently not disposed to lay aside minor personal interests, and to accept the guidance of Prussia. At the same time a natural reluctance to strengthen the influence of Prussia in Germany kept Austria aloof from any combined action with that Power for securing unity of council and of action; while, on the other hand, the

advanced Liberal party throughout Germany deprecated any friendly advances by the Cabinet of Berlin towards Austria, whose policy and influence they regarded as the chief barrier to the formation of a great German nation.

No one was more fully conversant with the state of feeling and of the various political parties in Germany than the Prince Consort. And now, when the course of events made it necessary for our statesmen to be thoroughly informed as to these, it was natural that they should turn to him for information and assistance. Accordingly Lord John Russell, on the 15th of March, wrote to him the following letter, sending him at the same time several valuable reports from Mr. J. A. Crowe, one of our consuls, as to the state of things in Bavaria, Baden, and elsewhere in Southern Germany:—

'I have for some time advised more intimate relations between Austria and Prussia. But it seems the attempts on the part of Prussia to draw closer to Austria only subject her to suspicion. The case is a very difficult one, and after the annexation of Savoy it is impossible to say how soon we may have to deal with the state of Germany.

'I confess I should esteem it as a great favour if your Royal Highness, who is so well acquainted with Germany, would furnish me with some clue to our future policy in regard to that country. I have been hitherto very unwilling to enter at all into the intimate politics of the German Confederation.'

To this letter the Prince, who was then at Osborne, replied on the 18th:—

'My dear Lord John,—I am very much obliged to you for letting me see Mr. Crowe's letters. They are well written, and he evidently takes the means of informing himself which our diplomatists despise. . . .

'I am inclined to believe in the general correctness of what Mr. Crowe says, and can corroborate him as to the accounts from Bavaria and Baden. God grant that the

Chambers in Baden may extricate the Grand Duke from his Concordat with the Pope!' (see *note*, p. 16 *supra*.) 'There are two others, Nassau and Hesse-Darmstadt, waiting for the result. The Concordats of Bavaria and Würtemberg are unfortunately passed. All these States have been forced into these unfortunate measures by their adhesion to Austria. . .

'You ask my general opinion about German politics and the best course to be pursued by us with regard to them?

'This is rather a wide question, and without going back to the Fall of Man or the Flood, I must say at least, that ever since Charlemagne the Italian and German questions have been identically the same. The Holy Roman Empire, when it replaced the Occidental Empire, embraced in theory the whole of Europe, dividing temporalities and spiritualities between the Emperor and the Pope; but, in reality, since the separation of France and Germany, it has embraced only Germany and Italy. The elective character of the Imperial Head was the chief means of enabling the great feudal princes and commercial towns to acquire a certain independence, whilst in England, France, and Spain, these were by the process of time absorbed by the monarchy.

'Since the disruption of the Empire of Charles V., who aimed at a universal monarchy on a new principle, Italy and the Low Countries have more completely separated from the Roman Empire. Italy, like Germany, preserved its *quasi* independent States, with this difference, that Italy as such remained only a geographical term, whilst Germany was a constituted body politic, whose head had, however, an European existence independent of the Empire. Thus the House of Hapsburg (of Austria), which virtually obtained hereditary possession of the Imperial Crown, established its power by means of the thrones of Hungary, Croatia, Transsylvania, Milan, &c. Whilst the Austrian policy has always been a family policy, using Germany only for its ends,

and caring very little for its internal prosperity, on the other hand the great split occasioned amongst the States of Germany by the Reformation rendered her direct interference in their internal affairs very difficult, and her abandonment of the duties of sovereign head of Germany became a convenience to those States themselves.

'Their centrifugal tendency was further increased by the acquisition of foreign thrones by their respective heads. The Elector of Hanover became King of England, the Duke of Holstein King of Denmark, the Elector of Saxony King of Poland, the Elector of Brandenburg King of Prussia, &c. German politics now necessarily became European politics, and the interference of foreign Powers with and in Germany constant and almost justified. The ideal of a "German Fatherland," a not altogether general identity of language, and the rotten form of the old German Empire, constituted the only ties, and these were but slender, which held the fabric together. Such was its condition when it was destroyed by the first Napoleon. Whilst he for the first time in history proclaimed the name of "Italy," he destroyed that of Germany, substituting that of a Confederation of the Rhine under his own protectorate. Austria and Prussia became independent States, *foreign to Germany*.

'The mode which the first Napoleon adopted for the formation of his Confederation is the same in which his nephew has dealt with the Italian question; that is, out of a number of small States and Principalities he selected a few, whom he enriched and aggrandised by the spoliation of others, under the condition that they should cede to himself the outlying portions of territory bordering on the French frontiers, making them at the same time of a magnitude, and attaching to them royal titles, in order that their power and their pride should form a barrier to their re-absorption in an united German State.

'It was after long and cruel oppression, that the German feeling rose and produced that glorious period in German history which ended in the downfall of the tyrant. Italy vanished again as a distinct State. Germany arose again with a union not before witnessed in its history. This Italy, however, of the name of which Napoleon had made use, had been governed as a French province, and for French purposes only. A return to its former divided but national Governments might have appeared to the Italians as a return to national independence. The struggle of Liberation in Germany had taught the people, that they were a match for France, provided they were united. It taught practically, however, also, that its strength lay in Prussia, as Prussia had borne the chief brunt of the struggle.

'The Congress of Vienna had to decide on the future form of Germany. It adopted that of the Confederation of the Rhine, including Austria and Prussia with and on behalf of their German provinces. It included on the same basis Denmark and the Netherlands. Germany had now an internal form, but no internal union. Austria and Prussia, as European Powers, were admitted as two of the five great arbiters of Europe, and are by implication supposed to represent the interests of Germany when those are affected. The minor States, dreading the moral and national (German) power of Prussia, have transferred their old allegiance from Napoleon to Austria, in the assurance that she has the same interest which he had to maintain their quasi-independence, and keep Germany divided; and, as far as the Roman Catholic portion of them is concerned, that she will protect Catholic interests against Protestantism—above all, that she will oppose Prussia.

'The Austrian policy is still identically the same which it was in the time of the Holy Roman Empire;—caring nothing for Germany, but much for her influence over it,

which she exercises through the minor States, and the priests, who are hostile to political and religious progress of any kind. Her support has, therefore, to be purchased at the expense of those sacred interests! Her policy towards Italy, and her means employed there, are and were the same as in Germany.

'The dissatisfaction of the German nation at the fact of its internal development being stinted, but, above all, at being reduced to a nonentity in Europe, and more than that, at being at the mercy of the other European nations, and particularly of her natural enemy France,—is the main feeling which caused the Revolution of 1848, and is even now working deeply in the public mind. The events of the last year have shown how helpless Germany is in its divided state, and have broken down the power of Austria. As the minor States and the national feeling throughout Germany were ready and demanded to support Austria in her late struggle with France, and even to sacrifice themselves for her, and were only prevented from doing so by the opposition of Prussia,—increased hatred towards her, whom they make responsible for their present helplessness and danger, is the immediate and natural consequence. As Austria is at the same time no longer able to protect them, their natural tendencies must drive them towards France.

'It is the appreciation of these facts, which must have impelled my brother to conceive the plan of proposing that Austria should be saved by Prussia at the price of her progressing in a liberal and just line of policy towards her own States.[1] I must consider this plan as both wise and patriotic for a German and as useful to Europe.

'If Prussia chose to act the perfidious part towards the

[1] This refers to a passage in one of Mr. Crowe's letters, in which he reported a conversation which had recently taken place between himself and the Duke of Coburg.

other States of Germany, which Sardinia has just acted towards her neighbours, she could in a short time, by pretending to be the violent advocate of an advanced Liberal policy, by undermining in their own States the different small governments, which are not free from many sins, and by conspiring against them with the Radical party, bring about at the same time their destruction by revolution and the union of those States under her own sceptre. The Prussian Royal Family, however, is too timid to play so bold a game, too honourable to play so false a one. No one can object to the latter consideration, and with regard to the former it must be borne in mind that Prussia has no chance of finding an ally like the one who did the work of Sardinia, and would probably have France, Russia, and Austria fighting against her, and even England hostile.

'Where Prussia is to blame, however, is that she, from whom alone salvation can come for Germany, has no fixed view as to how this task is to be accomplished. According to my notion she was in the right track when she established the Zollverein. Without interfering with the Federal Constitution, and the external form of Germany, which is recognised by Europe, she ought to proceed by treaties with the separate States to effect that union, which otherwise is impossible without a convulsion, and in which treaties the minor States would find security for their non-absorption in Prussia. I had the same idea as that proposed, according to Mr. Crowe, by Baron Roggenbach to the Grand Duke of Baden, and which is in exact conformity with this view.[2]

[2] Baron Roggenbach was head of the Ministry in Baden. His plan was to contend for all the liberal measures of Prussia, such, for example, as the Constitution of 1831 in Hesse-Cassel, and for the supremacy of Prussia, including the lead of that Power in foreign affairs; this policy to be carried out by direct negotiation with the Government of the Prince Regent, for securing Baden independence in the management of her internal affairs on the one hand, and to Prussia, on the other, all the advantages of a political union.

But, if Prussia is to proceed upon that line, she must act without any reference to Austria, who will impede her in every way in her power. Being in her perfect right, she need not quarrel with Austria, whom her policy does not attack; but no worse advice could in my opinion be given by us to Prussia than that she should make up to Austria (this would be the same as if we had given similar advice to Sardinia in Italy). Austrian friendship, which will never be sincere, can even externally only be obtained by sacrificing every interest which the Liberal and patriotic portion of the German people have at heart, viz. progress in constitutional institutions, religious toleration, and national union. Moreover, the knowledge of such an approach would at once deprive Prussia of the confidence of the entire Liberal party.

'Should Germany be attacked, all that can be hoped for from Austria, considering her difficulties in Venetia and Hungary, is that she will furnish her contingent to the Federal army. But this she is bound to do by the Federal Act, and would hardly dare to refuse because of a dislike to the German policy pursued by Prussia. Nothing therefore can be gained by truckling to her.

'Foreign Powers, and England in particular, can do very little good by advice. We ought, therefore, in my opinion, to confine ourselves to inculcating confidence in Prussia at the minor Courts, showing that from her alone can be expected efficient support and protection, and that the efficacy of that support will be in proportion to their adhesion to her. Of this our diplomatic agents do everywhere *diametrically* and *systematically* the *reverse*. We should at the same time encourage Prussia to have confidence in herself in acting in accordance with her duty to Germany. Her plan of reorganisation of the Federal army appears to me the only practicable one. Following the same principle which I have before advocated, it leaves the whole

Prussian army intact, and *allows such States* as choose their contingents to join it, to effect this by special convention, leaving them free to join the Austrian, should they prefer to do so.

'I have given you, I am afraid, a long history and very little advice. But this case is similar to that of many a patient. There may be very little the medical man can do, but that little requires a knowledge of the whole constitution of the patient, and the history of his disease. Hoping I have not bored you,

'I remain yours truly,
(Signed) 'ALBERT.'

The advantage to the Minister of an exposition so clear and comprehensive of the state of things in Germany can only be appreciated by those who have made a study of its intricate and confused history from 1815 to 1860. With the information which it placed at his disposal, Lord John Russell must have been saved a world of difficulty in his future communications with his diplomatic agents throughout the Continent. He fully appreciated the necessity for bringing unity and concord into the policy of Germany as a weapon for counteracting the ambitious designs of the French Emperor, and the importance of encouragement to Prussia as a means to this end. The time had now come to let it be seen that, while we were not disposed to break with the Court of the Tuileries, our trust in its professions of a peaceful policy was at an end, and that we intended to secure ourselves against any further application of the doctrines of M. Thouvenel's manifesto. A debate, raised by Mr. Horsman (26th March) on the annexation question, gave Lord John Russell an opportunity to make the following declaration:—

'My opinion, as I declared it in July and January, I have no objection now to repeat, that such an act as the annexation of

Savoy is one that will lead a nation so warlike as the French to call upon its government from time to time to commit other acts of aggression; and therefore I do feel that, however we may wish to live on the most friendly terms with the French Government—and certainly I do wish to live on the most friendly terms with that Government—we ought not to keep ourselves apart from the other nations of Europe, but that, when future questions may arise—as future questions may arise—we should be ready to act with others, and to declare, always in the most moderate and friendly terms, but still firmly, that the settlement of Europe, the peace of Europe, is a matter dear to this country, and that settlement and that peace cannot be assured if they are liable to perpetual interruption—to constant fears, to doubts and rumours with respect to the annexation of this one country, or the union and connection of that other; but that the Powers of Europe, if they wish to maintain that peace, must respect each other's limits, and, above all, restore and not disturb that commercial confidence which is the result of peace, which tends to peace, and which ultimately forms the happiness of nations.'

The cheers from both sides of the House with which this announcement was received showed how great was the shock which had been given to the belief in the sincerity of the Emperor's professions. It drew the warmest expressions of approval from Lord John Manners on the part of the Opposition, and also from Mr. Kinglake, who had since the meeting of Parliament been most active in denouncing the compact for the cession of Savoy and Nice, and who might be regarded as representing the independent section of Ministerial supporters. Believing as they did, that the only check to the Emperor's dream of remodelling the map of Europe would be the certainty of finding himself confronted by the united opinion, and possibly by the united forces, of the other Great Powers, Lord John Russell's words were welcome to the Queen and Prince, and Her Majesty wrote to him accordingly:—

'Buckingham Palace, 27th March, 1860.

'The Queen has read with much pleasure Lord John Russell's speech of last night, and from the way in which it was received in the House of Commons, she is certain that the country feels the danger which a supposed intimate and exclusive alliance with France has for the interests of Europe and of England: . . .

'It is a belief in this alliance which makes the rest of Europe powerless and helpless, nay, drives it to enter into separate secret bargains with France, from a knowledge that an united resistance is impossible, and from a fear of England's full acquiescence in the various schemes of the Emperor. As the English press and general public were favourable to the Italian Revolution, and the loss of the Italian provinces by Austria, and are supposed to be so with regard to the separation of Hungary from Austria, and of Poland from Russia, the Emperor Napoleon has the more chance of keeping up the distrust of the Continental Powers in England. Fear being the worst counsellor, we cannot be astonished that the Powers should follow an unwise policy. But once reassured as to the views of England, they would, the Queen feels certain, readily rally round her, and follow her lead.'

Lord John Russell's speech made, as it could not fail to do, a profound impression upon the French Emperor and his Government. It had also the effect of envenoming still further the language of the French press, which had for some time been flinging back angry retorts to the vehement invectives of the English journals. So grave was the aspect of affairs, that Count Persigny told Lord Palmerston a few days afterwards that, if things went on as they were doing, war from mutual irritation would be inevitable. He was, he

said, going to Paris on private affairs, but, if nothing was done, he should probably not come back. He could not gainsay the right of the English Government to adopt the attitude they had chosen, but he wished that something might be said in Parliament in a more friendly tone towards the Emperor's Government. Lord Palmerston could promise him but little satisfaction in that direction. What it amounted to was that Lord John Russell, in laying before Parliament next day (2nd April) some further papers on the Italian question, including the treaty between France and Sardinia for the cession of Nice and Savoy, should say, that, as the Emperor had by the treaty engaged to consult the other Powers of Europe with respect to the neutralised portions of Savoy, there was reasonable ground for hoping that this important question would be seriously examined and settled in a satisfactory manner. If this were done, Count Persigny stated that he should go to Paris contented. It was done, and the danger of an immediate rupture passed away.

But this danger certainly existed; and that it was averted was probably due in no small degree to the firmness shown by Lord Palmerston, not only to Count Persigny, but also to another friend of the Emperor's, Count Flahault. The day after Lord John Russell's speech, this gentleman sought an interview with Lord Palmerston, of which Lord Palmerston sent the following account to the Queen the following day (29th March):—

'Viscount Palmerston may mention to your Majesty the substance of a short conversation he had with Count Flahault on Tuesday. The Count came to him just as he was going down to the House, wishing to have some talk before he went to Paris yesterday morning; and Viscount Palmerston, unable to wait, took him down in his brougham to the House. Count Flahault said he should see the Emperor, and wished to know what he

might say to him as from Lord Palmerston on the unpleasant state of affairs. Lord Palmerston said he could only refer Count Flahault to what Lord John Russell had said on Monday in the House of Commons. Count Flahault hoped not, as what had been then said was personally offensive to the Emperor. Lord Palmerston did not see in what way it could be so considered. Count Flahault said that Lord John had expressed distrust; but admitted that no objection could be taken to the latter part of his speech, as to the political course which England might follow.

'Lord Palmerston said, distrust may be founded upon either or both of two grounds: either upon the supposition of intentional deceit, or upon such frequent changes of purpose and of conduct as to show that no reliance could be placed upon the continuance of the intentions or policy of the moment; and Count Flahault must admit that, without imputing the first, there is ample ground for a feeling founded upon the second consideration.

'Count Flahault said his great object was to prevent war between the two countries. Lord Palmerston said that he feared the Emperor and Thouvenel had schemes and views which tended to bring about that result, and might array Europe against France. This Count Flahault did not fear, but he was apprehensive that irritation on both sides might bring on a war between England and France. Lord Palmerston said that he was most anxious to prevent such a war; but, if it were forced upon England, England would fearlessly accept it, whether in conjunction with a confederated alliance, or singly and by herself; that the nation would rise and rally as one man: and that, though speaking to a Frenchman, he ought perhaps not to say so, yet he could not refrain from observing that the examples of history led him to conclude that the result of a conflict between English and French upon anything like equal terms would not be unsatisfactory to the former.

'Count Flahault said that he had been in the battle of Waterloo and knew what English troops were, but that the French army now is far superior to that which fought on that day. Lord Palmerston said, that no doubt it was, and so is the present English army; but with regard to the excellence of the French army, he would remind Count Flahault of what passed between Marshal Tallard and the Duke of Marlborough, when the former was taken prisoner at the battle of Blenheim. "*Vous venez,*

*Milord*," said the Marshal, "*de battre les meilleures troupes de l'Europe.*" "*Exceptez toujours*," replied Marlborough, "*celles qui les ont battues!*" "But," said the Count, "what I fear is an invasion of this country, for which steam affords such facilities, and which would be so disastrous to England." Lord Palmerston replied, that steam tells both ways, for defence as well as for attack, and that as for invasion, though it would no doubt be a temporary evil, we were under no apprehension as to its results; that a war between England and France would doubtless be disastrous to both countries, but it is by no means certain which of the two would suffer the most.

'Arrived at the House, they took leave of each other, Count Flahault saying he should not say anything to the Emperor, calculated to increase the irritation which he expected to find, but should endeavour to calm. Viscount Palmerston said, that of course the Count would judge for himself what he should say, but that he, the Count, must have observed what was the state of public feeling and opinion in this country.

'The conversation was carried on in the most friendly manner, and Viscount Palmerston has mentioned it only to Lord John Russell, and one or two of his colleagues, and he reports it to your Majesty only because he wishes, while it is fresh in his memory, to state it to your Majesty, in case it should be mentioned by Count Flahault at Paris, and should be reported to London in any way distorted and misrepresented by those through whom it might pass.'[3]

Whatever irritation against England Count Flahault may have found in Paris,—and it is quite certain that this was considerable,—no more was heard of a rupture of amicable relations between the two countries. The Emperor had a cooler head than many of his Ministers and friends, and was well able to estimate the hazards likely to arise from such a rupture to himself and to his dynasty. It would have involved an entire change in the policy, to which he had again and again pledged himself, of cementing the most intimate relations

[3] A memorandum by Lord Palmerston, nearly identical with this letter, will be found in Mr. E. Ashley's *Life of Lord Palmerston*, vol. ii. p. 190 *et seq.*

with England as the surest guarantee for the welfare of France. The recently concluded Treaty of Commerce would have been indeed a farce, if it, and all its well-calculated advantages to France, were to be thrown over, because English statesmen and journalists had condemned the want of frankness in his Italian policy with the bluntness which he knew was the characteristic of our free public life. He had brought upon himself, as he was well aware, the distrust of which he so bitterly complained; and to have quarrelled with England, because, while she remained perfectly loyal in her friendship to the country over which he ruled, she declined, after what had passed, to lean exclusively on the French alliance, would have been childish folly. It would have been to admit the complaint of his enemies, that he had been at no time sincere in his alliance with England, while it would have arrayed the other Powers of Europe against him, not one of whom had anything to apprehend from England, but each of whom had its own separate reason for dreading the aggressive and ambitious spirit which had now avowedly governed the Emperor's interference in the affairs of Italy.

Moreover, a war with England, whose resources, and the temper of whose people, when roused, the Emperor thoroughly understood, while it would have been without the shadow of a pretext, was an undertaking too formidable to be risked for the indulgence of an angry feeling which France as a nation did not share, and which would have been disastrous to the growing commerce and flourishing industries which it was the steady aim of the Emperor to encourage and develope. Nor can it be doubted, that all his convictions as a politician, as well as his personal feelings, were averse to a rupture with a country which he had so much reason not merely to respect, but to love. He had sworn fidelity also to her Sovereign, and, however true it may be, and undoubtedly as a general

rule it is true, that nations or governments are not much influenced by friendships or sentimental feelings, this circumstance was not without its effect in keeping the Emperor of the French constant to the English alliance.[4] To attempt to break the power of England, in order to clear the way for his cherished dream of enlarging the frontiers of France, was an enterprise which his strongest personal feelings, as well as his judgment, would have warned him to avoid.

The London season, now beginning, brought with it the usual number of public dinners, at which the Prince's presence was an object much desired. On the 27th of March he was present at one given by the Clothworkers on the opening of their new Hall, and in returning thanks for his health, made one of his happy little speeches, which, while it gratified the feelings of his hosts, gave them something to think about in connection with the special occasion, which might otherwise not have struck them :—

'It is,' he said, 'in accordance with our nature, that, after having accomplished a task and succeeded in any work of our hands, we should banish from our minds the recollection of the troubles and anxieties which accompanied its conception and progress, and rejoice not only ourselves in our success, but ask our neighbours and friends to come and rejoice with us. We want them to see what we have done, and to share in our satisfaction.

'I am grateful to you that you should have thought of including me in the number of your friends, for I can, I assure you, fully appreciate your undertaking and honestly congratulate you on your success.

'It must have cost you some hesitation and regret to separate yourselves from a Hall in which your forefathers had feasted the first Kings of the House of Stuart, and in which they, as well

[4] The words of the Emperor to the Queen, after his installation as a Knight of the Garter (see vol. iii. p. 247 *supra*) were, we believe, never forgotten by him. '*C'est un lien de plus; j'ai prêté serment de fidélité à votre Majesté, et je le garderai soigneusement.*'

as yourselves, habitually met for business and recreation. But the works of man, like the organic bodies in nature, to be preserved, require to be continually renewed, and thus alone do they resist the destructive tendency of time; and you determined (as we see to-day) to follow nature also in the law of increase, and to show that you have grown and expanded within these two hundred years. Your desire to see me amongst you upon this occasion, which I must attribute to your loyalty to the Queen, and my pleasure in responding to your call, prove, at the same time, that those feelings of mutual regard and affection which subsisted two hundred years ago between these great and wealthy Companies, these little independent republics of the City of London, and the Crown, have withstood the effects of time, are living—ay, and I trust are even grown in intensity and warmth. In such feelings we gladly recognise one of the essential conditions of the political and social life of a free and prosperous nation.

'May these blessings be preserved to this favoured land from generation to generation! and may this corporation live and prosper on, as one of the important links which connect succeeding generations with those which have long passed away!'

The next day the Prince wrote to his daughter at Berlin:—

'Buckingham Palace, 28th March, 1860.

'My catarrh refuses to give way, and I fear that a four-hours' dinner, toasts, and songs, under 90° of heat, in the new Hall of "The Clothworkers' Company" last night, was not exactly the best specific for me. It was the opening of the new and very magnificent building of the Clothworkers in the City; I was admitted as a *Liveryman*, and had to take an oath, and make two speeches after dinner; and now I thank my gods that it is over. We drank your health, moreover, "upstanding, three times three."'

The time had now come to arrange for the fulfilment of a promise which had been made by the Queen to the

Canadians, that the Prince of Wales should pay a visit to their country. This promise had been given during the Crimean war, (for which Canada had levied and equipped a regiment of infantry,) in answer to a request that Her Majesty would visit her American possessions. The Canadian Deputation by whom this request was conveyed were officially told, that it would be undesirable to expose the Sovereign to the risks of the voyage and the fatigues attending such a visit. The Canadians then asked that the Queen should give them one of her sons as Governor-General. Their youth made this impossible, but an assurance was given that, so soon as the Prince of Wales was old enough to do so, he should visit Canada. It was now decided that this promise should be fulfilled early in the ensuing autumn, when the visit would be signalised by the Prince opening the great railway bridge across the St. Lawrence at Montreal, and laying the foundation stone of the building at Ottawa, intended for the future meetings of the Canadian Parliament. It was also arranged that the Prince should be accompanied by the Duke of Newcastle, Secretary of State for the Colonies; and it was made known to the Colony, that the Prince might be expected to reach Canada early in July.

The intelligence no sooner reached America, than the President, Mr. Buchanan, addressed a letter to the Queen (4th June), offering a cordial welcome at Washington to the Prince, if he should extend his visit to the United States, and assuring Her Majesty that he would be everywhere greeted by the American people in a manner which could not fail to prove gratifying to the Queen. This request was answered in the same cordial spirit, and Mr. Buchanan was informed by the Queen, that the Prince proposed to return from Canada through the United States, and that it would give him great pleasure to have an opportunity of testifying to the President in person, that the feelings which had

dictated the President's letter were fully reciprocated on this side of the Atlantic.

The Municipality of New York also sent to Lord John Russell, through Mr. Dallas, the United States Minister in England, an intimation, in the form of a Resolution of their Corporation, of their wish that the Prince of Wales should visit their city. In reply Lord John Russell was instructed by the Queen and Prince of Wales to express to Mr. Dallas 'the high sense they entertained of the importance of strengthening by every means the relations of friendship and regard which bind this country to the United States of America.' Mr. Dallas was at the same time informed that the young Prince would include in his tour a visit to the State of New York, but that from the time of leaving British soil, he should drop all Royal state, and travel as Lord Renfrew, trusting to be enabled, as a private gentleman, to employ the small amount of time at his disposal, in the study of the most interesting objects and of the ordinary life of the American people. Towards the end of September he hoped to visit 'the mercantile community who had given him so welcome a testimony of their regard.'

We shall hereafter have occasion to show how successfully this visit to the great American Continent was carried out, and how much of this success was due to the knowledge and forethought with which its details were organised by the Prince Consort.

His attention about the close of March was a good deal engaged by the approaching Confirmation of Prince Alfred, which took place in the Private Chapel at Windsor Castle on the 5th of April. It need scarcely be said, that this step, as marking the entrance of the child into the active duties of Christian life, was regarded by the Queen and Prince as one of great solemnity. Besides the instruction of experienced religious teachers, they conceived their children to be

entitled to expect from them such help as their own experience and affection could suggest, in applying the great principles of the Christian faith as rules of conduct amid the temptations and trials from within and from without, to which on entering into the freer life of puberty they must inevitably be exposed.

In the case of a young prince engaged in the rough life of the Navy, the Prince's anxiety was of course naturally great, that he should understand that Religion is not a thing of dogma, but a life based upon a sense of responsibility to moral laws, bearing the impress of a divine sanction. He was, therefore, to use his own words, at great pains to establish in his son's mind the conviction, 'that sin is not positive, but something transitory, the struggle between the animal nature and the moral law, which begins with the moral law, and ends with its victory over mere impulse in ethical freedom, which Christ has won for us by his teaching, life, and death, if only we follow him.'

In the young Prince Alfred, attentive as he was, and eager and quick to learn, and with a brain, as the Prince writes (4th April) to the Princess Frederick William at Berlin, 'in which no prejudice can maintain a footing against straightforward logic,' he found a satisfactory pupil. 'I believe,' he adds, 'that Alfred fully recognises his personal responsibility for his own conduct and his own happiness. It is to this that we must look for safety for him in the future struggles of life.'

## CHAPTER CI.

THE early days of April were saddened for the Queen and Prince by the death at Baden-Baden of the Prince of Hohenlohe-Langenburg, husband of the Queen's sister. His failing strength had for some time made such an event not unexpected. Prince Hohenlohe had held official appointments at the Court of the King of Würtemberg, and for some years before his death acted as the President of the Upper Chamber of that kingdom. He was so much esteemed by the King that a few days before his death he had been visited by His Majesty, who came from Stuttgart to Baden for the purpose. 'A better, more thoroughly straightforward, upright and excellent man,' are the Queen's words in writing to the King of the Belgians (17th April), 'with a more unblemished character, or a more really devoted and faithful husband, never breathed. "*Es ist ein braver und ehrlicher Mann weniger in der Welt*" (there is one good and noble man less in the world) is a true observation as regards him. Poor Feodore is much overcome. His affection to her was to the last most touching; his last words were to take leave of her. He knew her to the end.'

Writing to the Princess Frederick William at Berlin (18th April) the Prince Consort pays the following tribute to this worthy man:—

'Poor Ernest Hohenlohe is a great loss. Though he was not a man of great powers of mind capable of taking comprehensive views of the world, still he was a great character

—that is to say, a thoroughly good, noble, spotless, and honourable man, which in these days forms a better title to be recognised as great, than do craftiness, Machiavellism, and grasping ambition. One could build upon him, because he was a man of settled principles; and the feeling in South Germany, where he was chiefly known, is one of general lamentation for the loss of such noble qualities.'

In a letter to the Queen from her sister a few days afterwards, after thanking Her Majesty for her letters 'full of true and sisterly feelings,' which have been 'a great real comfort to her sorrowing heart,' the Princess refers to the manifestations of this esteem which had reached her:—

'It is touching,' she writes, 'to see how the love and esteem, which my beloved Ernest deserved in so high a degree, is shown us by every one who knew him. If he could but know that! He did not believe he was so much loved and *anerkannt* [his worth recognised]. . . . That beautiful hymn, which you mentioned in your letter, *'Ei, wie selig schläfst du!'* ['Oh, how blessed is thy slumber!'] was sung at his funeral service. Your soul was with us there, dearest. I did not go to church, but before, while he was in our chapel, prayers were read to us before the coffin was taken away, and I had my last look. But he is not there;[1] his spirit is gone to the place of happiness with his Saviour.'[2]

The Prince was not likely to fall into the mistake, against which Addison warns his readers, 'of growing too wise for so great a pleasure as laughter.' His sense of humour, indeed, could alone have saved him from the world-weariness of an over-tasked mind. But, as the smile upon a grave face is ever the sweetest, so, in the midst of all the serious

[1] 'I care not,' said Socrates to his friends, 'what you think of my body after death, if only you do not think that I am there.'

[2] This letter is quoted from the privately printed volume of the Princess's letters to the Queen (p. 299), to which we have already been more than once indebted.

thoughts and speculations of his correspondence it is peculiarly delightful to come now and then upon his playful notices of the pretty childish ways of the little Princess Beatrice, which afforded himself so much amusement, and which he never failed to chronicle for the delight of her sister at Berlin. Thus in the letter from which we have just quoted he records several of these with a happiness of touch and a keen sense of humour which make it to be regretted that we have not the means of illustrating this side of the Prince's character without encroaching on subjects where personal considerations impose the obligation of silence.

The disquietude which the recent proceedings of the French Emperor had occasioned, was not diminished in the minds of the leaders of the Ministry by finding that Russia was now beginning to speak openly the same language as to the Treaty of Paris of 1856, which had been used at the Court of the Tuileries as to the Treaties of 1815. There was a significant concurrence of argument in the way these treaties were spoken of, which seemed to point to an understanding between the two Governments, that each was prepared to assist the other in the accomplishment of its designs. From Vienna the tidings came that the Russian Minister had been holding extraordinary language there. Two dynasties, he had said, had already perished in France because of the Treaties of 1815, and no dynasty could hold its ground there, if unable to restore to France the territory that had been taken from her. A similar fate awaited the House of Romanoff, unless it succeeded in recovering the portion of Bessarabia of which Russia had been deprived by the Treaty of 1856, and in cancelling the provisions of the same treaty which excluded her war ships from the Black Sea. It had long been no secret that Prince Gortschakoff was bent on accomplishing these results (vol. iv. *supra*,

p. 133), but it seemed improbable that the purpose should be so frankly avowed, unless the co-operation of France had been previously secured.

The agitation of this question became the more serious, as Russia was at the same time renewing her complaints against the Ottoman Government, and urging immediate action on the part of the Great Powers to redress the systematic outrages and acts of oppression, which were alleged by her to be committed by the Turks against the members of the Greek Church in the Christian provinces. These were said to be so intolerable, that they must result in a revolt of the Christians; and in language very familiar to Lord Palmerston and Lord Russell in former years the Russian Government declared that, in the event of such a revolt, it could not remain a tranquil spectator of the massacres which were certain to ensue, but would avail itself of every means at its command to arrest or avenge them. This declaration, which was tantamount to a proposal to set aside the arrangement of 1856, and seek for a new organisation of Turkey, was coupled with the indication that Russia counted upon the warm co-operation of France in pressing her remonstrances upon the Porte.

The English Government, while it announced its readiness to concur in any properly constituted commission of inquiry to ascertain the true state of the facts in Bulgaria, Bosnia, and the Herzegovina, guarded itself carefully against admitting that the Porte had been guilty of such a neglect or violation of its pledges as to justify the Great Powers in making the declaration called for by Russia, that they could no longer tolerate the actual state of affairs in the Christian provinces of Turkey. On the contrary, they intimated to Russia, that they too had 'from time to time received accounts of outrages and acts of oppression perpetrated in Bosnia, and in the Christian as well as the Mussul-

man provinces of the Ottoman Empire, but that of late they had heard much more of the extraneous attempts to produce revolt in Bulgaria than of Turkish outrages, and that these attempts seemed to have had their origin and support in Servia.' [3]

There was some satisfaction in the fact, that the Emperor of the French shewed no disposition to take any separate action in the matter with Russia. 'This,' said M. Thouvenel to a friend, who repeated the remark to Lord Cowley, 'is evidently the first instalment asked by Russia for the assistance she has given us in the affair of Savoy.' But the French Emperor had views of his own with reference to the Eastern question, which were widely at variance with those of Russia, and he was not prepared to place himself in hostility upon this subject to the Western Powers.

His energies were for the time concentrated upon Europe. The condition of Italy was such that it was impossible to say how soon France might be called upon to take action there; and, if so called upon, her sympathies with the Italian revolutionary movement would carry her in a direction which Russia was not likely to approve. Moreover, the time seemed to him opportune for pushing his designs upon the Rhenish frontier. There his movements were such, that Lord John Russell wrote to Lord Cowley: 'All my accounts show, that Prussia is undermined by very active French agents, who distribute petitions for annexation to France. Prussia is told, as Austria has been told, that, if she is robbed by a stronger neighbour, she can rob a weaker neighbour in her turn.'

Meanwhile, so well had the French Emperor played his game of controlling the action of the Great Powers by holding out separate lures to some of their number, that he was now able to speak out boldly his fixed intention to make

[3] *Despatch of Lord John Russell to Sir John Crampton*, 16th of May, 1860.

no concession to Switzerland on the subject of Savoy. The project of a frontier line, securing to that country the southern shore of the Lake of Geneva, with which the Government of England had been amused so long as the vote for annexation was in suspense, was dropped, and hints were given that the proposed Conference on the subject of the guarantees to be given to Switzerland had better be abandoned. And in truth, now that the indifference of both Russia and Austria upon the question had been made sure of by France, the Conference must have proved abortive in results. It therefore fell through, and the Emperor had the triumph, such as it was, of having successfully accomplished what Prussia and England had both protested against as an act of spoliation, and a dangerous encroachment on the treaty arrangements for the safety of Switzerland, which they and the other great European Powers were pledged to protect.

This result had not been arrived at, however, without the European Powers becoming alive to the way in which they were being played off against each other by the French Emperor for his own purposes. The speech of Lord John Russell of the 24th of March had freed them from the apprehension that England was so wedded to the French alliance as to be regardless of the interests of the other European States. The diplomatic communications which ensued still further satisfied them upon this point, and both Austria and Russia intimated a desire to come to a common understanding with England, with the view of preventing any further changes of territorial possession in Europe. This, however, was a step further than the English Ministry were prepared to go. They could not bind Great Britain by anticipation to definite action in regard to indefinite events; but they expressed their readiness to enter into an arrangement for frank communication between the Powers of any incidents or proposals, pointing to territorial changes, imme-

diately on their coming to their knowledge. This was one step towards that common accord which could alone operate as a check upon the policy of the French Emperor. But something more was needed to give firmness to the councils both of Berlin and Vienna.

Things were in this unsatisfactory state, when the Prince wrote the following letter to Baron Stockmar, from whom the Prince of Wales, who had just returned from Coburg, had brought a letter, in which the political situation of the Continent was handled with all the Baron's old sagacity and vigour:—

'It was indeed a great pleasure to me to hear from yourself, and to find so much vigour in your handwriting, as well as in the fresh thoughts and feelings to which it gave expression. A winter (such as that which has not even yet passed away) spent in your room is not calculated to give you strength; still, the Prince of Wales found you looking well, and was as glad to see you again as you were to see him.

'"The Baron seems inclined to come over if you press him; he really said so; it would be so nice," were his words. I don't quite believe in your coming, but "that it would be so nice" is beyond doubt. That you see so many signs of improvement in the young gentleman is a great joy and comfort to us; for parents who watch their son with anxiety, and set their hopes for him high, are in some measure incapable of forming a clear estimate, and are at the same time apt to be impatient if their wishes are not fulfilled. . . .

'You will be as little surprised as I am at what is going on just now in Europe, but you will not therefore be less deeply grieved. Our Ministers have waked up at last. . . . Now, however, the weak and distracted state of Europe, and of Germany in particular, which is simply due to the fact that the Napoleonic policy has been allowed full swing,

will be put forward by many as imposing it upon England as a duty not to engage in any Continental struggle with France, as this would be to turn round upon an approved ally. In Germany the condition of things must be deplorable. Austria in a state of decomposition, and Prussia without energetic guidance and force of conviction! "*Benjamin est sans force, et Juda sans vertu,*" as they say in *Athalie.*

'Alfred leaves us on Thursday next to make his long voyage to the Cape of Good Hope, by way of Rio Janeiro. It will be a strange and noteworthy circumstance, that almost in the same week in which the elder brother is to open the great bridge across the St. Lawrence in Canada, the younger will lay the foundation stone of the breakwater for the harbour of Cape Town, at the other end of the world. What a cheering picture is here of the progress and expansion of the British race, and of the useful co-operation of the Royal Family in the civilisation which England has developed and advanced![4] In both these young colonies, our children are looked for with great affection, and conscious national pride. This, however, is the only bright side of the political horizon, as contrasted with the state of Europe, which is indeed sad, menaced as it is with danger and with conflict. . . .

'Pray read the speech of Sir Bulwer Lytton in the House of Commons yesterday, upon Reform. You will find it in to-day's *Times.* It is a real masterpiece, and has produced a great impression.

'Buckingham Palace, 27th April, 1860.'

[4] This idea was expanded in a speech made by the Prince at a Trinity House dinner a few weeks afterwards. After referring to the incidents on the St. Lawrence and at Cape Town, he said: 'What vast considerations, as regards our country, are brought to our minds in this simple fact! What present greatness! what past history! what future hopes! and how important and beneficent is the part given to the Royal Family of England to act in the development of those distant and rising countries, who recognise in the British Crown, and their allegiance to it, their supreme bond of union with the mother country and with each other.'

The speech of Sir Edward Bulwer Lytton fully deserved the character given to it by the Prince. Writing to the Queen the same night, Lord Palmerston said of it, that it was the best speech Sir Edward had ever made. 'It was delivered without the exaggeration of tone and gesticulation which spoilt some of his former speeches. It was eloquent without being wordy, and was closely argued throughout. It was greatly cheered by a large portion of the House.' Undoubtedly it was the heaviest blow hitherto dealt by any speaker in Parliament against the Reform Bill,[5] which, it was by this time clear, was regarded with general dissatisfaction. So marked was the feeling, that on the 3rd of May, the day after it had been read a second time without a division, and the Committee fixed for the 4th of June, the Prince remarks in his Diary, 'Nobody believes that the Bill in its present form will get through the Committee.'

One of the most pleasant incidents of the London season for the Prince was the opening of the various Art Exhibitions, which he never failed to visit, and from which purchases were frequently made by the Queen as well as by himself. What was doing in the Art world was also a subject of especial interest to his daughter at Berlin, herself an artist of no mean attainments, and on the 9th of May he sent her a catalogue of the Royal Academy Exhibition, with the following remarks:—

[5] Not the least effective of the many powerful passages, in which the speaker depicted the probable results of throwing too much power by lowering the franchise into the hands of uneducated constituencies, was the following—'No doubt we shall have members just as anxious for what is called the honour of the country who will make high-sounding speeches against truckling to absolute sovereigns, and insist on the right of the House of Commons *to become the garrulous confidant of every secret which Cabinets would keep to themselves.* But will the new representatives of the new Constituency be as provident of practical defences, as they may be lavish of verbal provocatives? Will they as readily submit to the taxation which is necessary to self-defence, so long as the world shall see wars commenced for the propagation of ideas, and peace concluded by the acquisition of dominions?'

'The Exhibition of the Royal Academy is very good this year. The best picture is undoubtedly that of your marriage.[6] It is, indeed, altogether excellent, and is acknowledged and admired as such on all hands. Dobson has some very pretty things. Landseer, his "Flood"—a picture which I have seen in progress for twelve years, and which twelve years ago was wonderfully beautiful, and has been injured by every change it has undergone since, till now it has become a complete failure. What a pity! Moira has painted a very good miniature of Alice, half-length, in a white ball-dress, *en face*. Dyce, Cooke, and Hook, have very pretty pictures, Herbert a small one only, and Maclise none at all. Many young artists have very good works, such as Elmore, Egg, a younger Stone (the father is dead), Le Jeune, &c. I send you a catalogue, in which I have set a mark against the best.'

One of the books which the Prince notes in his Diary for April as having read during the month, was the first series, then newly published, of Mr. Tennyson's *Idylls of the King*. With this masterpiece of genius, the Prince's name has since become identified through the poet's dedication of these poems to his memory—

> 'Since he held them dear,
> Perchance as finding there unconsciously
> Some image of himself.'

This dedication is in itself a consummate example of what poetry can do to perpetuate the memory of human worth, summing up, as it does, in few and memorable words, the qualities which it has been the object of the present work to illustrate. The deep impression produced upon the Prince by the *Idylls* may be seen in the following letter which he wrote, asking Mr. Tennyson to inscribe with his name the

[6] By John Phillip. The picture is now at Windsor Castle.

copy of the volume in which he had first made acquaintance with them:—

'My dear Mr. Tennyson,—Will you forgive me if I intrude upon your leisure with a request which I have thought some little time of making, viz. that you would be good enough to write your name in the accompanying volume of your *Idylls of the King?* You would thus add a peculiar interest to the book containing those beautiful songs,[7] from the perusal of which I derived the greatest enjoyment. They quite rekindle the feeling with which the legends of King Arthur must have inspired the chivalry of old, whilst the graceful form in which they are presented blends those feelings with the softer tone of our present age.

'Believe me always yours truly,

'ALBERT.

'Buckingham Palace, 17th May, 1860.'

It is perhaps superfluous to say that a request so gratifying was promptly complied with. The book was to the last a favourite with the Prince. In reading it to the Princess Frederick William, during her visit to England in 1861, he pointed out passages from which he wished her to make pictures, and she was engaged upon these at the time of his death.

A letter to the Prince, from Berlin, announcing the despatch of gifts from the Princess Frederick William for the approaching anniversary (24th May) of the Queen's birthday, received the following answer (16th May):—

'The fan has reached me safely, and shall be displayed on the table on the 24th, as a birthday present from you both.

[7] The Prince uses 'songs' here as the equivalent of the word 'Lieder,' which in German would properly enough be applied to such poems as the *Idylls of the King*.

Last year we had yourself!—not upon the table, for you are grown somewhat weighty, but before, beside, and near it. I await the works of your hand with impatience, and will place them as you direct. *The Children in the Tower* must certainly furnish a good composition for sculpture: you will probably have introduced the dog, to indicate the approach of the murderers, and to suggest it to the spectator. I shall also be most anxious to see the other *bas-reliefs*, when they are moulded. The profile of the Bride [8] also will be sure to give great pleasure to Mama (*i.e.* your Mama). If only everything arrives at the right time, and unbroken! The latter, indeed, in a journey all the way from Berlin, is hardly to be assumed as possible; still one may venture to hope.'

The promised works of art arrived, as we shall hereafter see, in time and unbroken, and were greatly admired.

The month of May was fertile in incidents both abroad and at home, of great political importance.

The Kingdom of the Two Sicilies had been brought to the verge of revolution by the despotic measures of the young King, Francis II. Deaf to the remonstrances of foreign diplomatists, and untaught by the events which had taken place in the Duchies and the Romagna, he persisted in the arbitrary system which had made the government of his father detested. Every aspiration for the liberty which had been achieved in Northern and Central Italy was relentlessly crushed, and the affections of his people had become hopelessly alienated. As far back as July 1859, Lord John Russell, in writing to Mr. Elliot, the British Minister at Naples, had said: 'The King has now to choose between the ruin of his evil councillors or his own. If he supports and upholds them, and places himself under their guidance, it requires

[8] A medallion portrait of the Countess Lynar by the Princess Frederick William.

not much foresight to predict, that the Bourbon dynasty will cease to reign at Naples, by whatever combination, regal or republican, it may be replaced.' The forecast was now to be fulfilled.

The revolutionary spirit first showed itself in Sicily. The movement had been long preparing, but a sense of their own weakness, and a vivid remembrance of the terrible vengeance taken by the Neapolitan Government in 1849, had hitherto held the Sicilians in check. In the first week of April, however, the insurrection broke out at Palermo, from which it spread rapidly to Messina and other parts of the island. Frequent collisions took place between the insurgents and the royal troops throughout that month, and still the insurgents held their own, stimulated and encouraged by a revolutionary committee at Turin, whose avowed object was to unite the Kingdom of Sicily to the free provinces, which were in the course of becoming incorporated with Sardinia. This committee included exiles both from Naples and Sicily, several of whom had suffered deeply in their own persons from the tyrannical cruelty of the Neapolitan Government. The accounts which reached Garibaldi of the strong fight which the Sicilians were making for their liberties, determined him to go to their assistance, and he sailed from Genoa on the 5th of May with a body of about 2,000 men, which had been organised for a descent upon the coast of Sicily.[9]

From Talamona, on the Roman frontier, Garibaldi issued a proclamation calling upon the inhabitants of the Marches, Umbria, the Roman Campagna, and the Neapolitan territory, to rise, so as to divide the forces of King Francis, while he carried assistance to the Sicilians against the common

[9] On the day he sailed, Garibaldi wrote from Genoa to his friend Bertani: 'I never advised this Sicilian movement; but since these brethren of ours are fighting, I deem it my duty to go to their rescue.'

enemy. 'Italy and Victor Emmanuel!' he added. 'That was our battle-cry when we crossed the Ticino; it will resound into the very depths of Etna.' A few days later he effected a landing at Marsala, in full view of two Neapolitan frigates, assumed the title of 'Dictator in Sicily in the name of Victor Emmanuel,' and, bearing down with his handful of men the opposition of the royal forces, advanced upon Palermo. By the 27th of May he was in possession of the town, having driven the Neapolitan troops into the citadel, which, after raining a destructive and futile fire upon the town, they ultimately evacuated under an arrangement with Garibaldi.

The tidings of what at first had seemed the wildest of crusades, but soon showed itself to be the prelude to the fall of a dynasty, created no small confusion among the diplomatists of Europe. It was natural that Garibaldi, by professing, as he did, to act in the name of Victor Emmanuel, should draw upon the King the suspicion of having instigated and encouraged the Sicilian expedition. Obviously it could not have been organised without his knowledge, or the knowledge of Cavour, who not only had taken no steps to prevent its leaving the port of Genoa, but was generally believed to have instructed Admiral Persano, who had the command of a Sardinian squadron, to help in enabling the expedition to replenish their stock of provisions in the Straits of Messina, and to cover the passage of fresh volunteers, under Cozenz and Medici, to join the standard of Garibaldi. There were reasons why Cavour, without lending active encouragement to the enterprise, should welcome it as freeing Sardinia from the pressure of a serious difficulty. The Court of Naples had for some time been concerting measures with the Papal Government for the organisation of an army to recover possession of the revolted Papal States—a purpose favourably regarded by Austria, which had not yet become reconciled to the retention by Sardinia of her acquisitions in

Northern and Central Italy. But, with the insurrection in Sicily on his hands, the King of Naples could not move a step in this direction. Moreover, if the South of Italy were bent on following in the footsteps of the other half of the peninsula, it was not to be expected that the Sardinian Government should seek to arrest the national movement, or, by holding entirely aloof from it, deliver over the country to be the prey of anarchy, or the spoil of some foreign pretender. But it is now known, beyond a doubt, that Count Cavour had no part in organising the Sicilian expedition. Garibaldi, smarting under the cession of Nice, which had made him an alien in his own country, would indeed have rejected any offers of assistance from his hand. 'If we succeed,' he wrote to the King of Sardinia, before leaving Genoa, 'I shall be proud to adorn your Majesty's crown with a new, and perhaps more brilliant jewel, but always on the condition that your Majesty will resist your advisers, should they wish to cede this province to the stranger, as they have ceded my native city.'

With such a cause of quarrel dividing them, concert between Cavour and Garibaldi was impossible. Besides, had the choice rested with Cavour, he would have preferred being left free for a time to consolidate the kingdom of Northern Italy—in itself a task to engage the stoutest energies, and the highest statesmanship—to forcing on to a solution the larger question of Italian unity. But neither he nor any one could control the movement which was now begun, any more than he could have anticipated the results at which it was so soon to arrive, and which left him no alternative but to take an active part in the national struggle. Meanwhile he could only watch and wait, and be in readiness to act as the turn of events might suggest.

But the storm of protests which assailed him from all quarters taxed his firmness and fertility of resource to the uttermost. Austria denounced Garibaldi's enterprise as a

fresh proof of the aggressive ambition of Sardinia, and called upon the other Powers to join with her in reducing to reason this disturber of the European peace. A coalition of the Northern Powers to curb Piedmontese ambition was talked of at Berlin. The Sardinian Ambassador at St. Petersburg was roundly told by Prince Gortschakoff that, if Russia's geographical position permitted, the Emperor would undoubtedly put his forces in motion to defend the Bourbons of Naples, and would not be withheld by the principle of non-intervention which had been proclaimed by the Western Powers. If the Cabinet of Turin were carried away by its revolutionary proclivities into forgetfulness of its international duties, it would be necessary, he added, for the other European Governments to consider what were to be their future relations with Piedmont. France, taken like the rest of the world by surprise, protested against any attempt by Sardinia to extend her territories, while England, fearful that any overt act of Sardinia against either the King of the Two Sicilies, or against Austria, might result in an European war, urged upon her the importance of keeping aloof from the struggle. In making this representation, Lord John Russell did not conceal his apprehension, that the surrender of Genoa and the island of Sardinia to France would be made the condition of her assent to the Kingdom of the Two Sicilies being united with the rest of Italy. But on this point his fears were groundless. Italy had paid France the price stipulated for her liberation. Cavour knew and felt, that by the surrender of Savoy and Nice, he had done more than fulfil an old compact. He had bound the Emperor of the French to place no obstacles in the way of Italian unity, if by the force of events that should become possible.[10]

[10] On the 6th of April, Sir James Hudson had written to Lord John Russell: 'The deputies from Æmilia and Tuscany accept the cession of Savoy and Nice,

Pressed in this way upon all sides, the Sardinian Government published (18th May), in the official gazette, a declaration, that it had 'disapproved Garibaldi's expedition, and attempted to prevent its departure by such means as prudence and the laws would permit. Europe,' it went on to say, 'knows that the Government of the King does not conceal its solicitude for the common country, but, at the same time, it understands and respects the principles of international law, and believes its duty to be to make that principle respected in the State, for the safety of which it was responsible.' These words, meant to quiet the various Chanceries of Europe, were probably forgotten when, in the following October, Victor Emmanuel, addressing the people of Southern Italy from Ancona, spoke of Garibaldi, 'a brave warrior, devoted to Italy and to me,' as having sprung to assist the Sicilians in their revolt. 'They were Italians; I could not, I ought not to restrain them.' But by this time the Neapolitan dynasty had fallen, and events had proved the truth of Mr. Disraeli's words (*supra*, p. 20), that, however foreign Powers might protest, or the Piedmontese Government disclaim, Italy was 'in a state far beyond the management and settlement of Courts and Cabinets.'

Indeed these Courts and Cabinets had immediate cares of their own upon their hands, which demanded all their vigilance and skill. Austria was in terror of a revolution in Hungary on the one hand, while it was pressed on the other by the smaller States of Germany to assist them against the operations of French intrigue. Prussia was equally apprehensive of invasion on the Rhine, and Belgium had been made no less uneasy by the language freely held in influential

as the price they pay to France for their liberation; but there ends their pact, and after that they will look to nothing and hear of nothing save Italy for the Italians.' When Cavour signed the treaty of cession, he said to the French Minister, '*Et maintenant vous voilà nos complices!*' The words had a deep significance, read in the light of subsequent events.

French circles about contemplated annexation; while the complaints which Russia, as we have seen, was urgently pressing in regard to the state of the Christian provinces of Turkey, were the too probable prelude to complications little likely to be favourable to European peace.

England, rightly or wrongly, was full of distrust of her neighbour, whom she suspected as the chief fomenter of the prevailing disquietude. The general feeling was reflected by the Queen in writing (8th May) to King Leopold: 'The restlessness of our neighbour, and the rumours one hears, must destroy all confidence. Really it is too bad! No country, no human being, would ever dream of disturbing or attacking France; every one would be glad to see her prosperous. But she must needs disturb every quarter of the globe, and try to make mischief, and set every one by the ears. Of course this will end some day in a regular crusade against the universal disturber of the world.'

Meanwhile the French Emperor was adding to his army, and, what more nearly concerned England, to his fleet. Thoroughly awakened to the inadequate state of our defences, the enthusiasm which had given rise to the establishment of the Volunteer Corps continued to gain in strength. The Report of a Royal Commission appointed in the previous autumn on National Defences, which had been made public early in the year, had demonstrated the necessity for extensive works for the protection of our arsenals and certain other places, on which an invading force might be concentrated with disastrous results. The question raised by this Report was considered by the majority of the Cabinet to be so vitally urgent, as to demand that the great expenditure involved—about nine millions—should at once be faced. This sum it was originally proposed to raise by a loan to be repaid in twenty years.

The scheme met with no favour from Mr. Gladstone,

either as to its object, or the mode in which the necessary funds were to be raised. In writing to the Queen (24th May) reporting the result of the deliberations of the Cabinet upon the subject, Lord Palmerston mentioned, that the Duke of Newcastle had told him that Mr. Gladstone's intention was to resign if the works were to be done by loan. 'Viscount Palmerston hopes,' he added, 'to be able to overcome his objection, but if that should prove impossible, however great the loss to the Government by the retirement of Mr. Gladstone, it would be better to lose Mr. Gladstone, than to run the risk of losing Portsmouth or Plymouth.'

Mr. Gladstone's scruples were ultimately to a certain extent overcome, and it was decided to raise the necessary funds, as they should from time to time be required for the works by means of annuities terminable in thirty years. It was late in the Session, however, before the scheme could be matured. On the 23rd of July, Lord Palmerston proposed a resolution to authorise the raising of 2,000,000*l.*, being as much as could be advantageously spent within the ensuing year, of the total sum of 9,000,000*l.* required. A majority of 268 to 39 having decided in favour of the resolution, a Bill to give it effect was subsequently introduced, and carried rapidly through both Houses.

It was not to be supposed, that the large sums required for giving effect to the Report on National Defences, and the decline of revenue from other sources, should not have materially shaken the belief in the soundness of some of the items of Mr. Gladstone's financial scheme for the year. No part of it had waned in favour more decidedly than his proposal to abolish the Paper duties. This had been shown by majorities that dwindled at each stage of the measure. It only passed the third reading in the Commons by a majority of nine—a majority which it was notorious that many of those who composed it would willingly have seen

reversed. 'This,' Lord Palmerston wrote (7th May) to the Queen, 'may probably encourage the House of Lords to throw out the Bill when it comes to their House, and Viscount Palmerston is bound in duty to say that, if they do so, they will perform a good public service. Circumstances have greatly changed since the measure was agreed to by the Cabinet, and although it would undoubtedly have been difficult for the Government to have given up the Bill, yet, if Parliament were to reject it, the Government might well submit to so welcome a defeat.'

The House of Lords, upon the invitation of Lord Monteagle, an habitual supporter of Lord Palmerston's government, rejected the measure (21st May) by a majority of 89. The country and the great bulk of the House of Commons were gratified by this vote, although an outcry was raised against it, as an invasion by the House of Lords of the exclusive privilege of the House of Commons to deal with questions of taxation. But, although the instances of their having done so might be few, the Lords had always claimed the right to reject a Money Bill, although they could not originate one, and the efforts to raise a strong feeling on the subject were powerless in the face of the general conviction that they had in the present instance 'done a right and useful thing.' [11]

While these important political events were engaging the public attention, the Prince, who, as usual, watched narrowly every movement at home and abroad, was no less interested by measures which were then in progress, with relation to our Indian Empire.

The subject of the Order for India, which had been sug-

[11] These are Lord Palmerston's words. In a letter to the Queen (22nd May), in which they occur, Lord Palmerston mentions as an evidence of the prevalence of this feeling, that 'the people in the gallery of the House of Lords are said to have joined in the cheers which broke out when the numbers of the division were announced.'

gested by Her Majesty at the termination of the Indian Mutiny (vol. iv. p. 438 *ante*), was brought again under the Prince's notice by Sir Charles Wood, in a letter on the 15th of May, in which he mentioned that Sir Frederick Currie and Sir John Lawrence had been consulting Indians of varied experience as to a title for the order which would be suitable both to Europeans and to Indian Princes. They had suggested 'The Star of Honour for England and India,' or 'The Eastern Star of Honour.' In the same letter Sir Charles Wood mentioned that Lord Canning had written urging that a decision as to the Order should soon be come to and carried into effect.

The next day the Prince wrote in reply, going into the whole question in his usual exhaustive way:—

'My dear Sir Charles,—I was glad to receive a sign from you that the question of the High Order for India is not forgotten amid the multitude of other important matters. I cannot say I like the suggested names. "The Eastern Star of Honour" would be better than "The Star of Honour for England and India;" but they both seem copied from the "Legion of Honour" of Napoleon;[12] and assuming the fact that this is *the* Star of Honour *par excellence*, it would depreciate the other British Orders as marks of honour, or exclude all acknowledgment of merit in this new one. In France, Napoleon substituted his "Legion" for an aristocracy, which the Revolution had abolished, and he originally intended it to be the only honour for Frenchmen.

'The name has another inconvenience, viz. that it is rather the denomination of the Decoration than the name of the Order itself. You could not call the Order "The Order

[12] This was explained by Sir C. Wood in his reply to the Prince (21st May) not to be the case. A number of words and phrases had been suggested by the persons consulted, and they all contained 'Honour' in one shape or another.

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of the Indian Star of Honour." You have got the Star of the Garter, or Thistle, or Bath, but the Order is "The Order of the Garter," "Thistle," or "Bath."

'You might have an Order "of the Eastern Star." Then the Eastern Star, as a celestial body or figurative emblem, would become the subject and presiding idea of the Order. Perhaps this would not be a bad notion, if the astronomers don't object to the non-existence of such a particular star (Sweden has got an Order of the North Star), or the emblem be not considered unintelligible to the Indians. The Eastern Star preceded the Three Kings, or Wise Men, when they did homage to the infant Christ, and may be taken as the emblem of dawning Christianity. As the light of the world came from the East (like the sun), and the human races are supposed to have spread from the East, the emblem might be eligible also on that account, and not uncomplimentary to the Indians.

'Is the Eastern Star the Morning Star? Would the Morning Star be a proper emblem?

'Persia has already got an Order of the Sun, else the sun would have been a fit emblem. The sunflower has been chosen by artists as the emblem of India, as the Rose is that of England.

'The Orders of Knighthood are peculiar to that portion of the Middle Ages, when Christian chivalry mixed with Eastern custom in the Crusades. All later Orders are mere imitations, and it is in the feelings of those days (not inapplicable to our position in India) that we must look for inspirations. There existed then universally acknowledged emblems for certain ideas, as well in chivalry as in the Church. The lion was the type of power and generosity, the eagle of high aspirations, the crown of dignity, &c. &c., and we find them, as well as the different patron saints, made the emblems of the different orders of knighthood, with their

appropriate mottoes. The Order itself was a confraternity of a chosen few, who assumed the emblem and wore the decoration as token of their devotion to the idea which the emblem represented.

'Keeping this as the true model, the emblems which occur to me, besides "The Eastern Star," are the dove as Emblem of Peace (for us, that of the Holy Ghost), the British Lion, as representing the British Monarchy—(the White Elephant has been taken by Denmark for her chief Order, from the time when she aspired to power in India, and would but for that be most appropriate)—the Rose, as emblem of England; the Lotus flower, as an Indian emblem (I am afraid, exclusively Hindoo, and not acknowledged by the Mussulmans).

'The "Eastern Star" will perhaps on the whole be the best denomination. The centre of the badge of the Order might then be the Queen's image surmounted by a star, and surrounded by an appropriate motto, and the Star of the Order might be the star surrounded by flames or a glory.' [*Here the Prince gave a sketch of both.*] 'The badge to be worn suspended from a collar, which might be composed of stars, lions, and unicorns, or the sunflower, or lotus, and lions, &c., and ordinarily from a ribbon.' [*Of this also the Prince gave a sketch.*]

'The presiding idea would be contained in the Angels' salutation, "Glory to God, peace on earth, and good will towards men"—not a bad motto for the Queen's Government in India.

'Buckingham Palace, 16th May, 1860.'

To settle the name and insignia of the proposed Order was found to be no simple matter. For a time the 'Eastern Star' had the preference; but a letter from Lord Canning

to Sir Charles Wood (3rd November, 1860) showed that to this there was an insuperable objection:—

'The Hindustani for the "Eastern Star,"' he wrote, 'is "*Poorbeah Sittara.*" "*Poorbeah*" has, as you probably know, become a sort of generic name given to our Sepoys, from their being mostly men from Behar and Oudh—Eastern provinces; and during the Mutinies it grew to be used, somewhat as "*Pandy*" was used, as a familiar name for the mutineers. This, however, is not the point. That association is already passing away. But "*Poorbeah*," for the very reason that it means "Eastern," and that in India the further any person or thing comes from the East, the less is the respect shown to either, has been a term of disparagement time out of mind. Long before mutinous Sepoys were heard of, an Indian resented being called a "*Poorbeah.*" The term was, and,—as Frere assures me,—still is eagerly repudiated by every one who comes from far enough west to be able to do so. He speaks with knowledge, for his time has been passed chiefly amongst the Mahrattas and Rajpoots, who are the best and proudest blood in India. I asked him if there was anything insulting in the word. He said, Not quite that; but that it implied the same sort of contemptuous superiority on the part of one Indian, who used it towards another, as would be implied by an Englishman who should call an Irishman a "Paddy," or address a Scotchman as "Sawney."'

Other names were then suggested. 'Western Star,' 'Celestial Star,' 'The Star of Peace,' 'The British Star,' were successively rejected, and the balance had turned in favour of 'The Star of India and England,' when an unexpected objection was raised by the Lord Chancellor [Campbell]. 'England,' he said, 'is colloquially used to represent the United Kingdom, but never internationally, or between the Crown and people. The proposed title would seem to exclude Scotland and Ireland from connection with India,' which, Lord Campbell went on to say, would be 'very unjust to the late Marquis of Dalhousie, and many other natives of Scotland, who have taken a distinguished part in

conquering and governing India.' On hearing from Sir Charles Wood of this objection, the Prince wrote to him (5th January, 1861):—'The fatality which attaches to the choice of a name for the Indian Order appears still to pursue it, and now the Lord Chancellor rises up as a giant against it! I am afraid we must bow to his objections and start afresh. I confess I am not sorry that the "Star of England and India" should share the fate of its predecessors, as a cumbersome denomination, and I agree with you, that to add Great Britain, Ireland, the Deccan, Scinde, Calcutta, &c., which consistency would drive us to, would be almost ridiculous.'

Fresh suggestions were made, none of them satisfactory, and the Prince again (9th January, 1861) wrote to Sir Charles Wood: 'It is unfortunate that we get no further with the appellation of the Order than from one difficulty into another, and I might be inclined to give it the sign and name of a house at Töplitz,—the sign being gilt figures of men rowing against a rock, with the title of "The Golden Impossibility."' Not till some time afterwards was the difficulty solved, and the institution of 'The Most Exalted Order of the Star of India' (23rd February, 1861) set the question at rest to the general satisfaction.[13]

The decision of the Cabinet early in May upon another matter affecting India was a source of great satisfaction to the Queen and Prince. This was the determination to discontinue the separate European army in India, and to

[13] Most of the Prince's suggestions were carried out in the insignia of the Order. The star consists of rays of gold issuing from a centre, having thereon a star in diamonds, resting on a light blue enamelled circular riband, tied at the ends, inscribed with the motto, 'Heaven's Light Our Guide,' also in diamonds. The collar is composed of the lotus of India, of palm-branches tied together, in saltier, and of the United Red and White Rose; in the centre is an imperial crown, and the whole is enamelled on gold. The badge is an onyx cameo of Her Majesty's head, set in a perforated and ornamented oval, containing the motto of the Order, surmounted by a star, all in diamonds. The ribbon of the Order is sky-blue, with a narrow stripe of white on either edge.

amalgamate it with the general body of Her Majesty's European forces. On this subject the opinions of the Queen and Prince had been very strongly expressed, so far back as the 10th of October, 1858, in a Memorandum for the consideration of the Cabinet (quoted *ante*, vol. iv. p. 310). But these opinions were not shared by the government of Lord Derby, whose policy on this subject was for a time adopted by that of Lord Palmerston. Their views, however, had been altered by what had taken place in India in the meantime, more particularly by the conduct of the local English army, which had shown itself wanting in subordination and loyalty, and this, under circumstances which might have proved, and, if the system of a local force were continued, might again prove, a serious danger to our position in India. The difficulties which beset the question were materially simplified by the fact, that the rank and file had virtually disbanded themselves on a question of disputed bounty. But what was decisive was that the balance of opinion, supported by Lord Clyde, Sir Hugh Rose, Sir William Mansfield, and others of the highest military experience, inclined to the views expressed in the Prince's Memorandum. 'Simplicity, unity, and steadiness of system, and unity of command,' they held with him, were essential to the efficiency of our military force in India as elsewhere. Accordingly, instead of the two armies, which had hitherto existed, it was now determined to substitute an Imperial army, taking its turn of duty throughout the British Empire, in all its home provinces and foreign dependencies, including India.

This resolution of the Cabinet had of course to be carried out with a due regard to the interests of the officers of the Anglo-Indian Army, and it was not till the 12th of June, that the reasons on which it had been founded were laid before the House of Commons by Sir Charles Wood, in moving for leave to bring in a Bill to give it effect. The

measure was opposed in all its stages; but the opinion of the public and of the House of Commons in its favour was so clearly declared in the course of the debates, that it was ultimately read there a third time and passed without a division on the 7th of August. No division was taken upon it in the House of Lords, and it became law in a few days.

At this period, the Queen and Prince were in the frequent habit of visiting the camp at Aldershot, and showing their interest in its development as a training centre for active operations. On their return from a three days' visit there, the Prince wrote (15th May) to Baron Stockmar:—

'We returned yesterday afternoon from the camp at Aldershot, where we spent Sunday, and had a review yesterday. The 18,000 men who are collected there look remarkably well.

'At last spring has come, and the trees begin to put on their array. No one remembers such a protracted, unpleasant, and unwholesome winter. Everybody here was ill, and the deaths in society, so late even as last week, were again very striking. Of these, the Archbishop of York and General Berkeley Drummond were among your acquaintance. By the death of the latter, Colonel Seymour (our equerry) becomes a General, and General Grey gets a regiment, for which *The Times* of yesterday attacked him shamefully, and me with him. Grey treats this more lightly than he does a bad finger, which has given him a great deal of pain for a month past. In other respects the Household are well, Clark [Sir James] especially so. Get up your strength, so that as much may be said of you. The warm weather, which has now set in, is sure to have a beneficial influence on your health.

'In politics all the fiends have been let loose with a vengeance. . . . The result is a perilous conflagration of all the rotten places throughout Europe of whose existence we were well aware. France is looked upon here with infinite distrust.

I cannot, however, say that any other Power is trusted, or that they mutually trust each other; and this will continue to be the case, so long as no "common accord" is established, and that is only to be achieved under the guidance and fostering care of England. We preach this daily, hourly; Lord Palmerston and Lord John now view matters in the same light. In Parliament, too, things look no better. Fortunately, the House of Lords will reject the Bill for the abolition of the Paper duty, and so keep for use a million and a half of revenue, which Gladstone had thrown overboard, with a view of forcing us into disarmament next year.

'The Volunteers have already run up to 124,000 men, and make an excellent appearance—a proof there is no lack of patriotism in the country.'

## CHAPTER CII.

THE winter and spring of this year had been cold, wet, and cheerless, and they were the forerunners of a sunless summer and a wintry autumn. A brief gleam of fine weather during a ten-days' visit of the Queen and Prince to Osborne was made doubly delightful by the contrast to the dreary months which preceded it. If only the stormy and unsettled aspect of the world of English and European politics could have been forgotten, and the crowd of claims put out of view that awaited the return to London, the Prince would have 'drunk in the spirit of the season,' as only such lovers of nature as he can do. But how impossible that was, is very plainly shown in the following passages from his usual weekly letter to his daughter at Berlin:—

'Osborne, 23rd May, 1860.

'Your letter of the 20th has found me in the enjoyment of the most glorious air, the most fragrant odours, the merriest choirs of birds, and the most luxuriant verdure; and were there not so many things that reminded one of the so-called World (that is to say, of miserable men), one might abandon oneself wholly to the enjoyment of the real world. There is no such good fortune, however, for poor me; and, this being so, one's feelings remain under the influence of the treadmill of never-ending business. The donkey in Carisbrook, which you will remember, is my true counterpart. He, too, would rather munch thistles in the Castle

Moat, than turn round in the wheel at the Castle Well; and small are the thanks he gets for his labour.

'I am tortured, too, by the prospect of two public dinners, at which I am, or rather shall be, in the chair. The one gives me seven, the other ten toasts and speeches, appropriate to the occasion, and distracting to myself.[1] Then I have to resign at Oxford the Presidency of the British Association, and later in the season to open the Statistical Congress of all nations. Between these come the laying the foundation stone of the Dramatic College, the distribution of the Prizes at Wellington College, &c. &c.; and this, with the sittings of my different Commissions, and Ascot races the delectable, and the Balls and Concerts of the season all crowded into the month of June, over and above the customary business, which a distracted state of affairs in Europe, and a stormy Parliament . . . make still more burdensome and disagreeable than usual.

'Some successes, however, gladden me. The Ministers have at last determined to unite the separate English army in India with the Line, in which I see the averting of a great danger. . . .

'Your works of art have arrived duly, and oh, wonder!—unbroken. I admire them greatly. The composition is charming, and I now see the significance of the dog as typifying fidelity, in contrast to the treachery that caused the death of the two innocent boys.[2] Countess Lynar is very like, and makes a pretty medallion.'

A week after this letter was written the Court returned to London (31st May), and the Prince plunged into the vortex of multifarious pursuits which he has here depicted.

[1] *Gelegenheitsreden* (*besser, Verlegenheitsreden*). It is impossible to give in English the punning play upon the prefixes *ge* and *ver* of the original.

[2] This refers to a bas-relief, by the Princess, of the two Princes in the Tower.

On the 1st of June he laid the foundation stone at Woking of the Dramatic College, one of the few institutions in which he interested himself, which have not succeeded. The next and two following days he was in communication with the promoters of the Great Exhibition of 1862, who were anxious for his taking a leading part in the arrangements for it, as he had done in 1851. This was impossible, consistently with the other claims on his time, but he found it hard to determine what position he should take up in regard to it. On the 5th the Court went to Windsor Castle for the Ascot races, and time had to be found within the next three days for them and for the duties of hospitality to a numerous assemblage of guests. Among these were the King of the Belgians and his second son, and the young Prince Louis of Hesse-Darmstadt and his brother.

On the 8th, we find, from the Prince's Diary, he was engaged with the Duke of Newcastle in settling the details of the Prince of Wales' approaching visit to Canada. Into these the Prince went with a fulness of knowledge of the Colony and of the characteristics of the different places to be visited, which was the admiration of the Duke, when he came to test it by the actual experiences of the journey. Not then, but a little further on, the Prince supplied the Duke of Newcastle with Memoranda, written amid all the distractions of the busy June, for the answers to be made to the Addresses, which might be expected to be presented to the Prince of Wales during his progress. In writing, on the eve of his departure for Canada, to thank the Prince for these Memoranda, the Duke said :—

'They will be of the greatest use to me, not only as furnishing new ideas for documents, which, from the frequency of their repetition, must unavoidably have the fault of sameness when proceeding from one pen, but as informing

me of the tone and character which will be most in accordance with the Queen's and your Royal Highness's wishes.'

Every one of these Memoranda was used, and they were found to be invaluable, from the peculiar aptness with which they had been framed to suit the circumstances of the different localities, and the idiosyncracies of their populations.[3]

Returning to London on the 8th, the Prince wrote to Baron Stockmar next day, with a piece of family news, which it was right that valued friend should be among the first to hear:—

'. . . We returned yesterday from the Ascot races, which unfortunately were made more tedious than usual by incessant rain.

'The two young Princes of Hesse-Darmstadt leave England to-day, and have just taken leave. There is no doubt that the eldest (Louis) and Alice have formed a mutual liking, and although the visit fortunately has passed over without any declaration, I have no doubt it will lead to further advances from the young gentleman's family. We should not be averse to such an alliance, as the family is good and estimable (*brav und achtbar*), and the young man is unexceptionable in morals, manly, and both in body and mind distinguished by youthful freshness and vigour. As heir presumptive to the Grand Duchy, his position would, moreover, not be unsuitable. . . . The Queen and myself look on as passive observers, which is undoubtedly our best course as matters at present stand.

'. . . I must now once more take my leave. Our Reform Bill will be sent back again like a useless hack to its stall for this year; no great loss.'

[3] Our authority for this statement is Mr. G. D. Engleheart, the Duke of Newcastle's Secretary, who accompanied him through Canada and the United States with the Prince of Wales.

The same day (9th June) Mr. Arthur Helps, who had been appointed Clerk of the Council, upon the retirement of the Hon. William L. Bathurst, was sworn in. The name which Mr. Helps had made for himself in literature, and his many engaging personal qualities, soon created an interest in him on the part of both the Queen and Prince. The feeling was mutual. To Mr. Helps the close observation of one who was to him his 'own ideal Prince,' was a privilege by which he was peculiarly qualified to profit, and it bore fruit in the subtle and eloquent sketch of the Prince's character, which was prefixed to the volume of the Prince's *Speeches and Addresses*, published at the end of 1862. He remained Clerk of the Council till his death in March 1875, and his loss was deeply mourned by the Queen as that of 'a true and devoted friend.'[4]

The Commissions to which the Prince refers, in the letter to the Princess Frederick William above cited, as making regular demands upon his time, were the Fine Arts Commission, the Commission for the Exhibition of 1861, the St. Martin's Provident Institution and the Wellington College. Of all these he was the President, and in all of them he took a most active interest, presiding at their frequent meetings, and directing all their deliberations.

The Wellington College, the establishment of which had engrossed much of his attention (vol. iv. p. 386 *ante*), was now in full operation. The Queen had decided on giving

[4] A few days after Sir Arthur Helps's death (he was made K.C.B. in July, 1872), the following tribute by the Queen to his memory appeared in the *Court Circular:* 'By the death of Sir Arthur Helps the Queen has sustained a loss which has caused Her Majesty great affliction. As a loyal subject and as a kind friend, he rendered to Her Majesty very important service. He assisted, with a delicacy of feeling and an amount of sympathy, which Her Majesty can never forget, in the publication of her record of the Prince Consort's Speeches, and of the *Life in the Highlands*, to which he willingly devoted the powers of his enlightened and accomplished mind. The Queen feels that in him she has lost a true and devoted friend.'

an Annual Medal for good conduct, and the regulations with reference to it were drawn up by the Prince on the 16th of this month. The high tone in which they are conceived, and the justice shown in the mode of carrying them out, are too characteristic of their author for them to be omitted here:—

'16th June, 1860.

'Her Majesty the Queen has been pleased to declare her intention of presenting a Gold Medal annually for good conduct to the scholars of Wellington College.

'Her Majesty would wish, by the establishment of this prize, to hold up to the admiration of the students, and to their emulation, as far as they are capable of emulating such virtues, the great qualities of the hero and statesman, in whose honour and to whose memory the College has been instituted.

'It is not beyond the power of any boy to exhibit cheerful submission to superiors, unselfish good-fellowship with equals, independence and self-respect with the strong, kindness and protection to the weak, a readiness to forgive offences towards himself, and to conciliate the differences of others, and, above all, fearless devotion to duty, and unflinching truthfulness.

'He who displays all, or any of these qualities, will have so far trodden in the steps of the great Duke.

'The Medal will, by Her Majesty's command, be awarded under the following regulations:—

'The Medal shall be granted to a boy to be selected annually by the Head Master, after consultation with the other Masters.

'The name of the boy so selected shall be announced by the Head Master to the Prefects assembled for that purpose.

'A week shall elapse between the announcement of the name selected to the Prefects and the submission of the name of the scholar recommended to Her Majesty.

'During this week any Prefect who is acquainted with any act, or course of conduct upon the part of the boy selected, which he considers would disqualify him for such a distinction, shall communicate, in the first instance in writing, with the Head Master, who will make such inquiry as he may think necessary as to the truth and importance of the allegation.

'Before the name selected is announced to the Prefects, the Head Master shall state to several boys, the number to be judged by him, that it is probable that one of them will be selected for this distinction, and ask them each whether, supposing he should be the one chosen, he will be ready and willing to have his eligibility for such a prize subjected to the ordeal of the judgment of his schoolfellows, represented by the Prefects.

'The Medal shall be presented in public, before all the Masters and scholars of the College, and shall belong to the recipient absolutely, unless he shall at any future time commit any act which shall be considered to disqualify him for such an honour.'

On the same day (16th June) on which these regulations were drawn up by the Prince, he presided in the Banqueting Room, St. James's Palace, at a dinner given to celebrate the two-hundredth anniversary of the formation of the Grenadier Guards. Eight years previously the Prince had been appointed to succeed the Duke of Wellington in the command of this regiment,—a distinction on which he dwelt with emphasis in proposing the toasts of the evening. His rapid glance at the brilliant annals of the regiment showed how well he knew the way to touch the hearts of brave men, and to kindle in them that emulation of a great past which is the life-blood of a national army:—

'We are assembled,' he said, 'to celebrate the two-hundredth anniversary of the formation of the Regiment as at present constituted—two hundred years, which embrace the most glorious period of the history of our country—and in the most glorious events of this history the Regiment has borne an important and distinguished part. It has fought at sea and on land, in most parts of Europe, in Africa and America; and, whether fighting the French, Dutch, Spaniards, Moors, Turks, or Russians, it has stood to its colours, upheld the honour of the British name, and powerfully contributed to those successes which have, under God's blessing, made that name stand proudly forth amongst the nations of the earth.

'I need not recall to your recollection its deeds, which must be all present to your minds; but I cannot forego on such an occasion pointing at least to some of the most important of the long and uninterrupted list of victories with which the Grenadier Guards have been associated. I must point to the celebrated siege and capture of Namur, the first defence of Gibraltar, the capture of Barcelona and Valencia, the battles of Blenheim, Ramillies, Oudenarde, and Malplaquet, the battle of Dettingen,—ay! and of Fontenoy, where, though the victory did not ultimately remain with the Allies, it was fairly won, as far as the English were concerned, and that by the conspicuous prowess of the Grenadier Guards! the capture of Cherbourg, which, just a century ago, looked grimly across at our shores; the battles in Germany under the Marquis of Granby; the battle of Lincelles; those of Corunna, Barossa, and the Pyrenees; the capture of St. Sebastian; battles of Nive and Nivelles, and of Waterloo; in which last great struggle with Napoleon the Regiment acquired the title of Grenadier Guards, from having defeated, in fair fight, those noble and devoted grenadiers of his Imperial Guard, who, till met by the British bayonet, had been considered invincible; and, more lately, the battles of the Alma and of Inkermann, and the long-protracted siege of Sebastopol.

'These are glorious annals, and proud the corps may well be which can show the like! But the duty of the soldier unfortunately is not confined to fighting the foreign enemies of his country; it has at times been his fate to have to stand in arms against even his own brothers! a mournful duty, which we may trust never to see again imposed upon a British soldier. Under such circumstances, he is upheld, however, by the consideration, that, while he is implicitly obeying the commands of his Sovereign, to whom he has sworn fidelity, he purchases, by his blood, for his country, that internal peace and that supremacy of the law upon which alone are based the liberty as well as the permanent happiness and prosperity of a nation.

'The Regiment, originally sprung from those loyalists who had clung to Charles the Second in exile, has never failed in its duty to its Sovereign; it fought for James the Second against Monmouth on the field of Sedgmoor; and struggled during five years heroically, although finally in vain, to preserve to George the Third his revolted American colonies.

'Gentlemen! That same discipline which has made this Regiment ever ready and terrible in war, has enabled it to pass long periods of peace in the midst of all the temptations of a luxurious metropolis without loss in vigour and energy,—to live in harmony and good-fellowship with its brother citizens,—and to point to the remarkable fact, that the Household Troops have now for two hundred years formed the permanent garrison of London, have always been at the command of the civil power to support law and order, but have never themselves disturbed that order, or given cause of complaint either by insolence or licentiousness.

'Let us hope that for centuries to come these noble qualities may still shine forth, and that the Almighty will continue to shield and favour this little band of devoted soldiers; let us on our part manfully do our duty, mindful of the deeds of our predecessors, loyal to our Sovereign, and jealous of the honour of our country.'

A few days afterwards (23rd June) the first of the great Volunteer Reviews was held in Hyde Park. The gathering, which included detachments of Volunteers from the Provinces, who had come to London at their own expense, as well as the various corps of the metropolis and the suburbs, formed a striking illustration of the national determination to put the country into an efficient state of defence. 'Defence, not defiance,' was the motto of the movement. It was the best of all answers to the charge, that the blandishments of a long peace had sapped the hardihood and the patriotism of the people, and proved that, if they hated war, as all good citizens and especially all good soldiers do, they were not likely to shrink from it if the safety or the honour of the country made it unavoidable. The appearance which these Volunteers made upon the ground showed that they had set about the work of learning the soldier's craft in right earnest. The superior material of which they were composed had enabled their officers to convert them into soldiers far more rapidly than could have been anticipated, and produced a

most favourable impression even upon the jealous critics of the Regular army.[5]

At four o'clock, the Queen entered the Park in an open carriage with the King of the Belgians, the Princess Alice, and Prince Arthur; the Prince riding by the side of the carriage, and followed by a brilliant *cortége*. It took two hours for the 20,000 men and upwards to defile past Her Majesty. But the short time occupied in getting this large body into and out of the Park, and the precision with which this was accomplished, was remarked upon at the time as having dissipated, at once and for ever, the doubt ascribed to the Duke of Wellington, whether such a feat, even in the hands of the most experienced General, could ever be accomplished.

To the Prince, who had watched with the liveliest interest the growth of the Volunteer forces, the spectacle of that day gave the keenest pleasure. He presided the same evening at the Trinity House dinner, and seized the opportunity of adverting to it in proposing the toast of 'The Army and Navy,' glancing as he did so at the fact that the British Services, unlike those of other European countries, are composed exclusively of volunteers. The toast, the Prince said,

'is never given without calling forth proud and grateful feelings, for Englishmen have reason to be proud of the condition of these Services, and of the deeds which they have achieved, and cause to be grateful for the benefits which have been secured to them by their soldiers and sailors, who have been drawn from all ranks and classes of society, and have devoted their lives to their country.

[5] 'As a rule,' *The Times* wrote (25th June), 'they are a finer body of men than our infantry of the line. Their drilling has been done so quietly in out-of-the-way places, and often under cover, that no one could anticipate such perfection in so short a time. . . . The troops kept the best time. The companies followed at equal distances with the even flow of a continuous stream. Had the operation been rehearsed fifty times over, instead of the fifty corps having never seen one another till that hour, it could not have been better executed. . . . Of the worth of the demonstration itself there can be no doubt, for it proves England to be at heart a military nation.'

'We hear sometimes complaints of the expense which these Services entail, and must certainly regret that such sacrifices should be necessary; but on the whole the public spirit with which the nation is determined, through good and evil report, to maintain the efficiency of these establishments, is a most gratifying proof of its soundness at heart and the shrewdness of its instinct. It has lately come forward, and placed at the service of the Queen, Volunteer corps to act as an auxiliary to the regular army and militia, in case of danger to our shores; and the rapidity with which this movement has developed itself has been the subject of universal and just admiration.

'We have witnessed this day a scene which will never fade from the memory of those who had the good fortune to be present —the representatives of the independence, education, and industry of this country in arms, to testify their devotion to their country, and their readiness to lay down their lives in its defence. The Volunteer force exceeds already 130,000 men; and to what extent this country is capable of exerting itself in real danger is shown by the number of Volunteers, which in 1804 reached the extraordinary figure of 479,000! We are apt to forget, however, that, in contrast with every other country of the world, all our Services are composed exclusively of Volunteers: the Navy, Coast-Guard, Coast Volunteers, Army, Militia, Yeomanry, Constabulary. May the noble and patriotic spirit which such a fact reveals remain ever unimpaired! And may God's blessing, of which this nation has seen such unmistakable evidence, continue to rest upon these voluntary services!'

A few days later (2nd July) the Queen testified her interest in the National Rifle Association, a necessary complement of the Volunteer movement, by opening their first meeting on Wimbledon Common. The scene, which was one of unusual interest from its novelty, was made more brilliant by taking place under what was said at the time to be the first summer sky of the year. The first shot at the targets was fired by the Queen; and Mr. Whitworth had so adjusted one of his rifles as to secure a good score for Her Majesty, at the 400 yards' range. An address was presented to the Queen on her

arrival at the Camp by Mr. Sidney Herbert, as President of the Association, after which Her Majesty, accompanied by the Prince, advanced to a tent, in which the rifle had been fixed, which was to open the competition. A touch of the trigger was followed by the flutter of the red and white flag before the target, an intimation that the 'bull's eye' had been hit, and that Her Majesty, in accordance with the rules of the Association, had scored three points. Under these happy auspices began the first of those annual meetings, which have kept alive the ambition of eminence as marksmen among the Volunteers of all parts of the kingdom, and raised the standard of excellence to a point of precision which is surpassed in no other country.

The deep-seated feeling, which had given rise to the Volunteer movement, the resolution of the Government to proceed with the works of national defence, the indications that England, Austria, and Prussia were drawing more closely together in the common interests of peace, and to secure the maintenance of the existing European settlement, produced a salutary change upon the mind of the Emperor of the French. It was not merely that he could not lean as he had hitherto done upon the English Alliance in furtherance of his policy. The alliance might continue for all legitimate purposes, and he knew that the fault would be his own if it did not; but the warm personal regard which he had been at pains to establish, and which individually he still felt—as indeed he felt it to the last—had undergone a chill of which he was painfully conscious. He now knew that he should encounter no more resolute adversary than England to his schemes for remodelling the map of Europe; and he already felt the weight of her influence in the loss of his own, which had resulted from the closer intercourse now subsisting between her Government and those of Austria and Germany. To assure these Powers that England should not, as they had

feared she would, make common cause with France in any aggressive policy, was all that was necessary effectually to defeat the Emperor's policy of division, to which reference has been made in a previous chapter. As the Queen wrote to Lord Palmerston (3rd June):—

'What is required, and is now attainable for the general security, is a mutual agreement between the three Powers, "that each should make known to the other two any overture or proposition, direct or indirect, which either of the three may receive from France, tending to any change of the existing state of territorial possession in Europe, and that no answer should be given to such overture or proposal until the Government to which it may have been made shall have had an answer from the other two to the communication so made." Anything short of this will not effect the object of giving absolute confidence.'

Measures had already been taken by Lord John Russell to ascertain the feelings of the Prussian and Austrian Ministers in regard to some such common understanding. These were cordially met, especially on the part of Prussia; and Baron Schleinitz, through Count Bernstorff, the Prussian Ambassador in England, assured Lord John Russell in reply, that 'whenever any fact, which appeared to be of a nature to justify the apprehensions of Europe, should come to his knowledge, he would, as a matter of urgent duty, put himself in communication with the Cabinet of St. James's, with a view to concerting what course ought to be pursued.' The advance thus made was cordially accepted, and in his Despatch in reply (7th June), Lord John Russell suggested, nearly in the language of the Queen above quoted, that 'in order to carry the views of the two Governments more completely into effect, it would be advisable that, if any proposition were made to either of the two Powers tending to affect the terri-

torial circumscription of Europe, or to disturb the balance of power, no answer should be given by the Power to whom such proposition should be addressed, until a communication should be received from the other.'

A similar communication was made to Austria, to whom it was no less welcome, and thus a harmonious understanding was established between the three Powers, without the semblance of anything which France could justly complain of as in the nature of a coalition against her.

Feeling that something must be done to quiet the apprehensions he had aroused, the Emperor, not content with employing the usual diplomatic means at his disposal, published a manifesto in the *Moniteur* (1st June), in which the intentions imputed to the French Government of provoking or countenancing complications in Europe, in order to create opportunities for fresh aggrandisements, were indignantly disclaimed. 'Every effort the Emperor can make, he is making,' it went on to say, 'to restore confidence in Europe. His only desire is to live in peace with the Sovereigns his allies, and to apply all his energies to the active development of the resources of France.'

Confidence in Europe, however, was not to be re-established except by restoring confidence in himself—a task of no ordinary difficulty. As the Prince said, a few days afterwards, in a letter to Baron Stockmar: 'Confidence once lost it is not given to every man to regain,' neither was the Prince at all hopeful that the Emperor's case would form any exception to the rule.

To set the mind of Germany at rest was a matter of the first importance, for the Emperor was well aware that anxiety about the left bank of the Rhine had been strongly excited in the mind of the Prince Regent by the Emperor's application, in the case of Savoy and Nice, of his favourite doctrine of 'natural frontiers.' Accordingly a proposal

for a friendly meeting at Baden was conveyed to the Prince Regent. Whether the Emperor hoped, as was surmised at the time, to convince the Prince Regent, that an equivalent might be found for the surrender of the Rhenish Provinces in some general scheme of redistribution of European territory, is not likely ever to be known. But any anticipation of this nature must have been dispelled, even before the interview took place, when he learned that the Prince Regent had invited all his brother German potentates to Baden for the same date as that appointed for his interview with the Emperor. By doing so he at once dissipated every feeling of distrust upon their part as to any combination to their prejudice, and made it impossible for the Emperor to hint at a proposition for appropriating to France any portion, however small, of their common country.

The meeting at Baden took place on the 16th of June; and in the feverish state of European affairs, it was natural that its results should be regarded with no ordinary interest. By the 19th these were known in London. 'The German Sovereigns,' the Prince notes in his Diary, 'seem to have come to an understanding in Baden, and the Emperor Napoleon to have been very much disappointed at the meeting.' The details of what had taken place, however, were still unknown to him when he wrote the following letter (26th June) to his daughter at Berlin:—

'Accept my best thanks for your welcome letter and the photographs of your plastic labours. They are real successes, and I can fancy that their creation has given you great pleasure and satisfaction. After a time it will become a necessity for you to master architecture, as the complementary and third, if not highest, art. Still, I hope it may be some time yet before you enter upon this study, inasmuch as it cannot be carried into practice without a very serious expen-

diture, and you (if you should have the means) would have many purposes to apply them to, more useful to your country.

'Baden-Baden,' the Prince adds, 'is still a mystery for us;' but he goes on to express a hope that the result has in effect been to heighten mutual confidence between the German Sovereigns, and thereby to contribute towards the unity of Germany.

Soon after this letter was written the Prince,—and through him Lord Palmerston and Lord John Russell,—were put in full possession of all that had taken place in Baden, by a communication from the Prince Regent. From this it appeared, that the Emperor of the French had adopted the only course which the tactics of the Prince Regent had left open to him, by at once explaining that his object in seeking the interview had been to give an earnest of his pacific intentions, and to put a stop to the excitement to which a belief in his designs upon a portion of their country had given rise among the Germans. What had happened as to Nice and Savoy, he said, was quite exceptional, and due to the special circumstances of the case. When he first promised his assistance to King Victor Emmanuel, he had told him that this annexation must follow upon any material addition to the Piedmontese territory resulting from the war.

The assurance of peaceful intentions was of course accepted by the Prince Regent as most satisfactory. He quite admitted the state of feeling in Germany to which the Emperor referred, but at the same time he reminded him, that the world and himself were now for the first time made aware of the compact with Victor Emmanuel, having had nothing before them up to this time but the Milan Manifesto, and the declaration that France desired no increase of territory of any kind. What had occurred since

was quite sufficient to justify apprehension on the part of Germany. The Emperor, too, had now appeared in the field as a General and Commander-in-Chief, a circumstance not calculated to allay the uneasiness of the country.

Nothing, the Emperor rejoined, could be further from his thoughts, than to dissever any territory from Germany and incorporate it with France. So clamorous, however, was the outcry of the German press, that something must be done to convince Germany of his sincerity. What should this be? Nothing, was the reply, could be easier. Most of the German Sovereigns were then in Baden. Let the Emperor tell them what he had told the Prince Regent, and the news of his desire to leave Germany undisturbed would speedily be known throughout the country.

The Emperor went on to speak of the press, which had become a power in Europe. For himself he had very little control over it. Would it not be well to guard against its being allowed to govern the country as it did in England? The panic it had helped to create there about a French invasion was childish, because invasion was impossible, even with the best steam fleet. To land, and to hold your ground after landing, were two very different things;—the latter simply impossible. What stronger proof, moreover, could be given of his desire to be at peace with England, than the recent Commercial Treaty—a treaty more advantageous perhaps, he said, to England than to France, for it had been vehemently attacked by the manufacturers and artisans of France? The fears which were current, too, he went on to say, about a French invasion of Belgium were equally incomprehensible and absurd. But were they not, he was reminded, in a great measure due to the language of the French press? This he would not admit.

The conversation was turned by the Emperor to a pamphlet which had recently appeared in Paris, entitled '*L'Empereur*

*et la Prusse*,' in which the Rhine, as the only secure frontier for France, was contended for, while Prussia's true policy was maintained to be the surrender of the Rhenish Provinces, while absorbing as compensation all the minor States of Germany. That this pamphlet, if not directly countenanced by the Emperor himself, was issued with the connivance of his Government, who had ordered its title to be altered, was very well known. But the Emperor disclaimed the views which it upheld, and said that he regretted its appearance. This he might well do, whether privy to its publication or not, as he must by this time have felt that the promulgation of these doctrines at the present moment had been singularly inopportune. He complained of what he called 'a thundering article,' which had just appeared in the *Allgemeine Zeitung*, denouncing his purpose in coming to Baden as one of deliberate falsehood and treachery. The Prince Regent's answer was, that he had never seen either the pamphlet or the article. But the effectual way to neutralise both was to publish the disclaimer of any aggressive intention given by the Emperor to the present meeting.

The state of affairs in Italy also came under discussion. By this time Sicily was obviously lost to the Neapolitan Crown, and an early attack upon Naples itself seemed more than probable. The Emperor was very guarded in dealing with the subject. While he said he would use his influence with Victor Emmanuel to persuade him to lend no support to any movement of Garibaldi and his friends upon Naples, he added that the recent Neapolitan Sovereigns had by their conduct alienated from themselves the sympathies of the rest of Europe.

The frank communication thus made of what had passed at Baden was the first fruit of the good understanding which had been established between England and Prussia. In replying to the Prince Regent (27th June), the Prince

Consort expressed in warm terms his acknowledgment of the loyalty and confidence which it evinced. He did not fail to congratulate the Prince Regent on his success in dissipating by the course he had taken any latent distrust on the part of his German colleagues as to a combination to their prejudice between Prussia and France. The safety of their common country depended on their standing firmly together. 'The only power which Germany can oppose to France is that which led to the war of 1813 and 1814,—patriotism and love of freedom.'

At the close of his letter the Prince writes:—

'Last Saturday we went through a remarkable day in London. The 20,000 Volunteers, who defiled before Victoria in Hyde Park, would have commanded your admiration, as they did that of all who saw them. They were the finest body of young men I have ever seen under arms (and no wonder, for among them was the best blood in England), and the military bearing and aptitude which they displayed, considering their very limited opportunities for practice, were really surprising. Some of them came from Manchester, Leeds, Nottingham, &c., all at their own expense.[6] (Their numbers in the whole now run up to 130,000.) Next Monday the great Rifle Shooting Competition comes off at Wimbledon Common, on this side of Richmond Park. It is to go on for a week. The great competition will be at a distance of 1,000 yards. The first prize will be shot for with Mr. Whitworth's rifle.

'On the 9th proximo Bertie will embark at Plymouth, and sail on the 10th for America. He is to visit all our North American Colonies, and come back by way of the United States. Mr. Buchanan has invited him to Washington. This will be an important historical as well as political

[6] It was computed that of the 21,000 reviewed in Hyde Park, 15,000 belonged to the metropolis and the suburbs, and 6,000 to the Provinces.

event, and I have no doubt that Canada will do her utmost to make our neighbour alive to the unity of feeling which gives vitality to the monarchical principle in a people.'

When writing this letter, the Prince was not aware of a fact which subsequently came to his knowledge upon unquestionable authority, that at the time the Emperor of the French proposed the interview at Baden, he had abandoned all thought of war, but hoped to have an opportunity of unfolding to the Prince Regent the plan, on which he had long brooded, of effecting peaceably a territorial revision in the interests of France by means of a fresh distribution of territory in European Turkey. The basis of his project was the assignment of the Danubian provinces to Austria[7]—an arrangement to which, strangely enough, he had anticipated that Russia would not object. Much to his chagrin he found, by a communication from St. Petersburg only a few days before going to Baden, that Russia would impose a peremptory veto on this plan. To broach it at Baden, therefore, was no longer possible. Nevertheless, the Emperor did not abandon the hope that, sooner or later, either in consequence of Turkey's own weakness and misdeeds, or of external pressure, a partition of her kingdom, to which more Governments than one looked as the only solution of the Eastern question, would take place, that would enable him to press upon the European States his own claims to acquisition of territory nearer home.

[7] The idea was an old one. According to the French historian Mignet, it was propounded to Napoleon I. after Ulm by Talleyrand. Talleyrand's plan was that Austria should be deprived of Venetia, of the Tyrol, and Swabia, and be compensated on the Danube by receiving Moldavia, Wallachia, Bessarabia, and the smaller portions of Bulgaria. 'In this way,' said Talleyrand, 'Austria, possessing the whole course of the Danube and a portion of the shores of the Black Sea, would be a neighbour, and consequently a rival of Russia. The Ottoman Empire would purchase security for many a long year by the timely sacrifice of provinces which have several times been invaded by Russia; the Russians, shut up in their deserts, would direct their efforts towards Asia, where the course of events would place them in the presence of the English, and transform into future adversaries the confederates of to-day.'

## CHAPTER CIII.

ALTHOUGH the nation in the aggregate recognised the timeliness of the active measures which had been taken and were further contemplated for the National Defence, and were prepared to accept the burden of them without reluctance, this was not the view of the class of politicians of whom Mr. Cobden and Mr. Bright were the representatives. They did not hesitate to denounce as provocative of war the very measures which those to whom the safe keeping of the State was entrusted regarded as the only means to prevent it. Our Volunteers, our new ships of war, the fortification of our arsenals, were all in their view so many menaces to France, and the frank avowal that they were meant chiefly as a protection against her was inveighed against as fatal to the continuance of friendly relations with her Sovereign or her people. Wiser and more manly was the tone of Lord Palmerston, when he said: 'The only foundation for friendship between equals is perfect frankness; and so far from the fair statement of what we intend to do for our own defence being the ground for bad relations between us and France, I say that not only that statement, but the works that are to follow that statement, are the only foundation for real and substantial friendship with France.' So long as we were vulnerable, we presented a temptation to attack. Make attack not only dangerous, but hopeless, and it would never be attempted.

The Report of the Royal Commission on National Defence

had indicated many weak points in our armour. Why repair them, argued the self-styled Peace party, when you have the assurance of the French Sovereign that he means no mischief,[1] and the Commercial Treaty just concluded with him will bind the two nations by such intimate ties of interest that there is no chance of their falling out for the future? The believers in this view, as already indicated, had a powerful supporter in Mr. Gladstone, who upon this subject was so completely at variance with the Cabinet to which he belonged, that for a time it seemed not unlikely that he would leave their ranks. Yielding a reluctant consent to the measures which they considered indispensable, he made no secret of his opinions at the time; and in future years told the nation again and again that their unreasoning panic had forced upon the Government an expenditure which the circumstances did not justify. This view, expressed at a public meeting in Manchester in April 1862, drew from Lord Palmerston an answer, in a letter to Mr. Gladstone (29th April, 1862), which so clearly states the grounds on which Lord Palmerston proceeded, in the summer of 1860, in bringing in the Fortifications Bill, that it cannot be out of place to insert it here. He could not, he said, agree with Mr. Gladstone in his assertion that the nation had coerced the Government into their large expenditure upon the National Defences, but, he added, if the fact had been so, this would rather be a proof of its superior sagacity than a subject for reproach:—

[1] In Thiers' *History of the Consulate and the Empire*, book lvi., we are told that when at the Congress of Vienna the Emperor Alexander urged upon his Imperial brother, Francis Joseph, that the known and tried sincerity of his character ought to be a sufficient security for the Austrian people, the Emperor Francis replied, 'Yes, the sincerity of a Prince is an excellent guarantee, but a good frontier is still better.' 'Britannia needs no bulwark, no tower along the steep,' was truth as well as poetry, when Campbell wrote the lines; but the days had now gone by for England trusting to the 'silver streak of sea as an all sufficient frontier.

'Successive Governments,' he went on to say, 'have taken the lead by proposing to Parliament such estimates as, acting upon their responsibility, they thought needful for the public service; successive Parliaments have sanctioned those estimates, and the nation has ratified those acts by their approval. It is, therefore, a mistake to say that this scale of expenditure has been forced upon Parliament, or upon the Government; and it is a still greater mistake to accuse the nation, as Cobden does, of having rushed headlong into extravagance under the impulse of panic. Panic there has been none on the part of anybody. There was for a long time an apathetic blindness on the part of the governed and the governors as to the defensive means of the country compared with the offensive acquired and acquiring by other Powers. The country at last awoke from its lethargy, not indeed to rush into extravagance and uncalled-for exertions, but to make up gradually for former omissions, and so far, no doubt, to throw upon a shorter period of time expenses which earlier foresight might have spread over a greater length of time. The Government, the Parliament, and the nation acted in harmonious concert; and, if any proof were wanting, that the nation has been inspired by a deliberate and sagacious appreciation of its position with respect to other Powers, that proof has been afforded by the long-continued and well-sustained sacrifices of time and money which have been made by the 160,000 Volunteers, and by those who have contributed to supply them with the requisite funds.'[2]

[2] Ashley's *Life of Lord Palmerston*, vol. ii. p. 223. In connection with this subject, a further statement of Lord Palmerston's views in a letter to Mr. Cobden (8th January, 1862) may be given. A memorandum by that gentleman on mutual disarmament by France and England had been sent to him, and in acknowledging its receipt, Lord Palmerston wrote: 'It would be very delightful if your Utopia could be realised, and if the nations of the earth would think of nothing but peace and commerce, and would give up quarrelling and fighting altogether. But unfortunately man is a fighting and quarrelling animal; and that this is human nature is proved by the fact that republics, where the masses govern, are far more quarrelsome and more addicted to fighting than monarchies, which are governed by comparatively few persons. But so long as other nations are animated by these human passions, a country like England, wealthy and exposed to attack, must by necessity be provided with the means of defence, and however expensive these means may be, they are infinitely cheaper than the war which they tend to keep off.'—(*Ibid.* p. 221.)

The argument of economy, ably and eloquently though it was urged by the opponents of the Fortification scheme, was disregarded as inapplicable. England, it was felt, would be no longer England were she to hang back from spending whatever sum was required to make her secure at home, and thus enable her to retain her place among the nations. The average common sense of the country was not to be misled by theories however closely reasoned, or by rhetoric however copious, into thinking that it was throwing away its money out of a foolish apprehension. It might be fairly trusted to know its own interest best, in taking the course which ordinary prudence demanded; for what could economists or rhetoricians do to repair the fatal consequences of mistake, if mistake there should be, in a matter of such vital moment?

At all events Lord Palmerston and his Cabinet had the average common sense of the country with them in persevering with the scheme. They had it with them also in not joining in the outcry raised by some of their body and followers against the vote of the House of Lords upon the Paper duties. The Commons Privilege Committee, twenty-one in number, appointed to report on the practice of each House of Parliament in questions of taxation, reported (29th June), by a majority of fourteen, that the Lords had not acted unconstitutionally in rejecting a Bill for the repeal of a tax. Mr. Bright had failed to get the Committee to adopt his conclusion, that by what the Lords had done, 'the fundamental and inherent right of the House of Commons to an absolute control over taxation was not only menaced, but destroyed.' The country took the same view; and in truth, that large body of the public which lies outside the world of mere party, could not be brought to believe that the House of Lords, by an overwhelming majority, including some of the greatest constitutional lawyers and statesmen of

the age, would have been guilty of an act of such transparent folly.

Something of course had to be done to set the matter at rest, and to satisfy the uneasy scruples of two members of the Cabinet. This was effected by a series of Resolutions introduced by Lord Palmerston (6th July), which, while admitting that the House of Lords had acted within their right, reasserted the exclusive power of the Commons to grant aids and supplies to the Crown, and so to impose and remit taxes, and to frame bills of supply, that their 'right as to the matter, manner, measure, and time, may be maintained inviolate.' These Resolutions were condemned by several of the extreme Liberals as inadequate. But their opposition came to nothing, when even Mr. Gladstone, while denouncing the vote of the Lords as 'a gigantic innovation,' and reserving to himself freedom to vindicate the privileges of the Commons by action, concluded by admitting that he could not refuse his assent to the Resolutions, 'because they contained a mild and temperate, but a firm declaration of the rights of the House of Commons.' A further attempt by Lord Fermoy to renew the agitation was defeated by a majority of 177 to 138.

The Queen and Prince had by this time matured a plan for a visit in September to Coburg. It would effect the double purpose of enabling them to refresh their spirits amid the old familiar haunts of that beautiful region, and of gratifying their natural yearning to see the Princess Frederick William and their first grandchild. The plan, the Prince had written to her in May, 'is among our pious wishes for the late summer. You must, however, bring the hopeful Wilhelm with you, and not hide him away with a blush, as you used to hide your drawings in the portfolio. "Don't look at it, papa! It is so bad, you must not see it!" and then forth came into view something full of beauty and

talent. The little fellow is sure to be charming. You owe it to us, after deserting us as you have done to give us the delight of seeing the little one.' The Prince, too, seems to have been possessed by the passionate longing to look once more upon the scenes of his youth, which observation shows to be often most intensely felt, when no one could surmise it to be likely that the visit will be for the last time. How welcome the intelligence would be to his friend Stockmar he well knew, and he announced it to him in sending (30th June) the budget of general news, with which the Prince always strove to find time to keep him abreast of what was doing in England:—

'Uncle Leopold leaves us this morning for Brussels. He has been particularly well and cheerful, despite a cold that has teased him. In politics we have been in accord on all points, and even our Cabinet is beginning to see things rightly. So much the worse, should it be wrecked upon certain rocks which lie ahead of it. The Reform Bill is happily withdrawn, and the union of the Indian with the Queen's army has been resolved on; but there still remains a Resolution against the Upper House, denouncing its rejection of the abolition of the Paper duty as unconstitutional, for which Lord John and Gladstone will vote,[3] but against which Lord Palmerston and the rest of the Cabinet protest, and the works for the protection of our harbours and coasts, which were promised to the country and to Parliament, but to which Mr. Gladstone will not assent, because, in common with Bright and Cobden, he looks to the recent Commercial Treaty for England's real and only defence.

'The review of the Volunteers, which was a sight that went home to the heart, ought to have taught him how

[3] This contingency was averted by the Resolutions submitted to the House of Commons, as already mentioned, being arranged to their satisfaction.

utterly his views are at variance with those of the nation. . . . I cannot call to remembrance any finer sight than that gathering.

'The Prince of Wales sails from Plymouth on the 10th, and we do not expect him back till the middle of October. Mr. Buchanan, in a letter to Victoria, has invited him to Washington, which he will take on his way back. The Duke of Newcastle, Lord St. Germans, General Bruce, and Colonel Teesdale, Captain Grey and Dr. Acland, will form his suite.

'We shall go to Scotland in August, and have decided to visit Coburg for a week at the end of September, where Vicky with her little one will give us a rendezvous. We travel incognito, and decline all visits and royal receptions.

'The meeting in Baden has certainly changed the state of things for the moment; not that it has had the effect of awakening confidence in the Emperor, but by giving an assurance that for this year at least he either desires, or finds his necessities enjoin, peace. The Prince Regent appears to have behaved admirably. He sent me copies of his notes upon the Conferences, and nothing can be more straightforward, frank, and noble, than the appearance he makes; and this directness of purpose is, after all, the only weapon on which one can rely against duplicity, and disregard of principle.

'I have got through all my speech-making; the only one left is an opening Address for the International Statistical Congress, which meets on the 16th of next month, and at which I am to preside. The subject is a difficult one and causes me considerable trouble!

'Mama-Aunt will not go to Abergeldie this year, but repair to a country seat in the neighbourhood of Edinburgh.

'Clark, who again finds himself rather unwell, is soon to start for Birkhall; he will not be able to accompany us to the Continent.

'Of course, I am infinitely delighted at the prospect of seeing you again, and hope the feeling is reciprocal. But see that you keep quite well, so far as the weather, which is really frightful, will let you. Here, at least, it has rained for six weeks without intermission, and people are beginning to be very apprehensive for the harvest. We are still wearing our winter clothes.'

A few days later (4th July) the Prince writes to his daughter at Berlin as follows on the to him more congenial subject of art and music:—

'Your plastic labours have arrived and they have been duly admired. The attitude of the Jane Grey is especially natural and happy. Gretchen in Retzsch's *Faust* must have hovered before you in producing it, as Lady Lichfield did in the *Mary Stuart*. They are complete successes.

'We have seen the *Orpheus* (Gluck's) twice, and I admire it extremely. It is a real refreshment after our modern sound and fury (*Geräusch*), and the works of the Italian school, which depend entirely on individual 'morceaux,' and have no regard whatever to the poetry of the drama. Here we have a poem presented in music, and this is why, with the scantiest materials, the effect is so impressive. Schillag plays the part admirably.

'I am engaged on the preparation of my Address for the opening of the Statistical Congress, which costs me a deal of hard work.'

The study of statistics as a science was no new one to the Prince. During his stay in Brussels in 1836–7 he had been instructed in its principles by M. Quetelet, the great statist

and mathematician (vol. i. p. 21 *ante*). He was one of the Patrons of the Statistical Society of London, and took part in the discussions at two of their meetings. It was a study which had particular attractions for him, and which he had turned to practical account in his systematic observation of social and political phenomena.

The International Statistical Congress owed its establishment to M. Quetelet. All the States of Europe were in the habit of collecting and publishing statistical returns. M. Quetelet, seeing the importance of getting those returns made on an uniform system, and expressing quantities in the same units, persuaded the Belgian Government to summon a Congress of the directors of the statistical offices of Europe, with a view of carrying out this design. The Congress met accordingly at Brussels, and was opened by an address of M. Quetelet. It was cordially supported by King Leopold, who received the members at dinner. Every State of Europe and America, with the exception of Russia, was represented. The Emperor Nicholas declined to send a delegate, on the ground that he did not think Russia had anything to learn from the rest of Europe. Meetings were next held at Paris and Vienna, and it then became the turn of London to receive the Congress.

According to the rule previously followed, the President should have been the Minister more immediately connected with commerce: in this case, Mr. Milner Gibson, as President of the Board of Trade. But M. Quetelet, knowing the special qualifications of his old pupil for the office, advised that the Prince Consort should be invited to accept it. With one accord the members adopted the suggestion, and the Prince, who thoroughly appreciated the importance of the objects in view, complied with a request, which threw much labour upon him at a time when his hands were already more than full. 'I think I can help you, and I will do it!' were

his words to the secretaries of the Congress, when they waited upon him, after he had intimated his consent.

One of the secretaries was Dr. Farr, the distinguished statistician, to whom we are indebted for most of the particulars above given; and to him he said, 'Now, Dr. Farr, I wish to suck your brains!' asking what he could say that would be most useful to the Congress. Dr. Farr forwarded to the Prince a paper which he had addressed to the Government on the subject, and in doing so mentioned some topics, on which he thought it would be well the Prince should express his opinion. 'What struck me,' Dr. Farr writes, 'was the mastery of the subject by the Prince, and the use he made of the information I had given him. His Address was entirely his own.'

He delivered it upon the 16th of July. 'It excited universal admiration in all its hearers, and all its readers,' were Lord Palmerston's words in writing to the Prince a few days afterwards (23rd July). They implied much, when taken in connection with the fact, that among his audience were many of the men most eminent in Europe for science, and in the political world. Subsequent meetings of the Congress at the Hague, Florence, Berlin, St. Petersburg, and Buda-Pesth, were presided over by Princes and leading Ministers of State, but, Dr. Farr writes, 'it was admitted by all, that none of the addresses—by Princes or Ministers—equalled in merit the address of the Prince Consort.'

The value of accurate statistics as the basis of social and political science was not then so well understood as it has since become. In the Prince's words, statistical science, 'was still subject to many vulgar prejudices.' He seems, therefore, to have thought he could not better serve the objects of the Congress than by a popular exposition of the uses of statistics, and of the processes by which they might be made to advance the knowledge of the leading facts and

phenomena of nature and of life, and point to deductions valuable to the cause of man's progress and well-being. After glancing at the deterrent effect upon the general mind of the dry figures and tables for comparison, 'simple arithmetical expressions, but representing living facts,' which from their very nature were more or less valuable in proportion to their quantity and comprehensiveness, he went on to speak of the discredit which had been brought upon the science by 'the peculiar and often unjustifiable use which has been made of it.' He then proceeded:—

'The very fact of its difficulty and the patience required in reading up and verifying the statistical figures which may be referred to by an author in support of his theories and opinions, protect him, to a certain extent, from scrutiny, and tempt him to draw largely upon so convenient and available a capital. The public generally, therefore, connect in their minds statistics, if not with unwelcome taxation (for which they naturally form an important basis), certainly with political controversies, in which they are in the habit of seeing public men making use of the most opposite statistical results with equal assurance in support of the most opposite arguments. A great and distinguished French Minister and statesman is even quoted as having boasted of the invention of what he is said to have called "l'art de grouper les chiffres." But if the same ingenuity and enthusiasm which may have suggested to him this art should have tempted him or others, as historians, to group facts also, it would be no more reasonable to make the historical facts answerable for the use made of them, than it would be to make statistical science responsible for many an ingenious financial statement.

'Yet this science has suffered materially in public estimation by such use, although the very fact that statesmen, financiers, physicians, and naturalists should seek to support their statements and doctrines by statistics, shows conclusively that they all acknowledge them as the foundation of truth; and this ought, therefore, to raise, instead of depressing, the science in the general esteem of the public.

'Statistical science is, as I have said, comparatively new in its

position amongst the sciences in general; and we must look for the cause of this tardy recognition to the fact that it has the appearance of an incomplete science, and of being rather a helpmate to other sciences than having a right to claim that title for itself. But this is an appearance only. For if pure statistics abstain from participating in the last and highest aim of all science (viz. the discovering and expounding the laws which govern the universe), and leave this duty to their more favoured sisters the natural and the political sciences, this is done with conscious self-abnegation, for the purpose of protecting the purity and simplicity of their sacred task—the accumulation and verification of facts, unbiassed by any consideration of the ulterior use which may, or can, be made of them.

'Those general laws, therefore, in the knowledge of which we recognise one of the highest treasures of man on earth, are left unexpressed, though rendered self-apparent, as they may be read in the uncompromising, rigid figures placed before him.

'It is difficult to see how, under such circumstances, and notwithstanding this self-imposed abnegation, statistical science, as such, should be subject to prejudice, reproach, and attack; and yet the fact cannot be denied.

'We hear it said that its prosecution leads necessarily to Pantheism, and the destruction of true religion, as depriving, in man's estimation, the Almighty of His power of free self-determination, making His world a mere machine working according to a general prearranged scheme, the parts of which are capable of mathematical measurement, and the scheme itself of numerical expression!—that it leads to fatalism, and therefore deprives man of his dignity, of his virtue and morality, as it would prove him to be a mere wheel in this machine, incapable of exercising a free choice of action, but predestined to fulfil a given task and to run a prescribed course, whether for good or for evil.

'These are grave accusations, and would be terrible indeed if they were true. But are they true? Is the power of God destroyed or diminished by the discovery of the fact that the earth requires three hundred and sixty-five revolutions upon its own axis to every revolution round the sun, giving us so many days to our year, and that the moon changes thirteen times during that period; that the tide changes every six hours; that water boils at a temperature of 212° according to Fahrenheit; that the

nightingale sings only in April and May; that all birds lay eggs; that a hundred and six boys are born to every hundred girls? Or is man a less free agent because it has been ascertained that a generation lasts about thirty years; that there are annually posted at the Post-offices the same number of letters on which the writer had forgotten to place any address; that the number of crimes committed under the same local, national, and social conditions is constant; that the full-grown man ceases to find amusement in the sports of the child?

'But our statistical science does not even say that this must be so; it only states that it has been so, and leaves it to the naturalist or political economist to argue that it is probable, from the number of times in which it has been found to be so, that it will be so again, as long as the same causes are operating. It thus gave birth to that part of mathematical science called the calculation of probabilities, and even established the theory that in the natural world there exist no certainties at all, but only probabilities. Although this doctrine, destroying man's feeling of security to a certain extent, has startled and troubled some, it is no less true that, whilst we may reckon with a thoughtless security on the sun rising to-morrow, this is only a probable event, the probability of which is capable of being expressed by a determined mathematical fraction. Our insurance offices have, from their vast collection of statistical facts, established, to such a precision, the probable duration of man's life, that they are able to enter with each individual into a precise bargain on the value of this life; and yet this does not imply an impious pretension to determine when the individual is really to die.

'But we are met also by the most opposite objection; and statistics are declared *useless*, because they cannot be relied on for the determination of any given case, and do only establish probabilities where man requires and asks for certainty. This objection is well founded; but it does not affect the science itself, but solely the use which man has in vain tried to make of it, and for which it is not intended. It is the essence of the statistical science, that it only makes apparent general laws, but that these laws are inapplicable to any special case; that, therefore, what is proved to be law in general is uncertain in particular. Herein lies the real refutation also of the first ob-

jection; and thus is the power, wisdom, and goodness of the Creator manifested, showing how the Almighty has established the physical and moral world on unchangeable laws, conformable to His eternal nature, while He has allowed to the individual the freest and fullest use of his faculties, vindicating at the same time the majesty of His laws by their remaining unaffected by individual self-determination.'

The Prince then passed on to a graceful apology for so 'inadequate an exponent' as himself, speaking 'such homely truths,' to a meeting which included men of great eminence in science, and in particular M. Quetelet, from whom, he said, 'I had the privilege, now twenty-four years ago, to receive my first instruction in the higher branches of mathematics, —one who has so successfully directed his great abilities to the application of the science to those several phenomena, the discovery of the governing laws of which can only be approached by the accumulation and reduction of statistical facts.' The social condition of mankind, as exhibited by these facts, he added, formed the chief object of the study and investigation which the Congress had undertaken, and it had been prompted by the hope that the results of its labours would afford to the statesman and legislator a sure guide in his endeavours to promote social development and happiness. Such Congresses were most valuable, as paving the way to an agreement amongst different governments and nations to follow up inquiries in which all were interested 'in a common spirit, by a common method, and for a common end.'

To arrive at the laws which it was the aim of statistical science to ascertain, the Prince went on to say, a very wide area of observation, and unity of system in noting and recording facts, were essential. So, too, for the purpose of that comparison which was necessary in order to arrive at sound conclusions in the investigation of our social condition, the greatest variety of facts must be brought together,—

'the statistics of the increase of population, of marriages, births, and deaths, of emigration, disease, crime, education and occupation, of the products of agriculture, mining, and manufacture, of the results of trade, commerce, and finance.' These, again, must be contrasted with the same class of facts in different countries 'under the varying influences of political and religious conditions, of occupations, races, and climates.' And both sets of observations must be supplemented by observations taken under the same conditions, but at different times. 'It is only the element of time, in the last instance, which enables us to test progress, that is to say, life.'

After illustrating what had already been done, and pointing out various directions in which the influence of the International Congress would be felt in introducing greater accuracy, and essential uniformity in the collection of observations in the various branches of statistics in England and in other countries, the Prince continued:—

'The returns so obtained will no doubt prove to us afresh, in figures, what we know already from feeling and from experience —how dependent the different nations are upon each other for their progress, for their moral and material prosperity, and that the essential condition of their mutual happiness is the maintenance of peace and good-will amongst each other. Let them still be rivals, but rivals in the noble race of social improvement, in which, although it may be the lot of one to arrive first at the goal, yet all will equally share the prize, all feeling their own powers and strength increase in the healthy competition.'

The Prince then urged the members of the Congress not to lose themselves in points of minute detail, however attractive, but to direct their energies to 'the establishment of those broad principles upon which the common action of different nations can be based, which common action must be effected, if we are to make real progress.' He then concluded in words which made a deep impression at the time, and were

often present to the minds of the members of the Congress in their future deliberations:—

'I know that this Congress can only suggest and recommend, and that it must ultimately rest with the different Governments to carry out those suggestions. Many previous recommendations, it is true, have been carried out, but many have been left unattended to; and I will not except our own country from blame in this respect. Happy and proud indeed should I feel if this noble gathering should be enabled to lay the solid foundation of an edifice, necessarily slow of construction, and requiring, for generations to come, laborious and persevering exertion, intended as it is for the promotion of human happiness, by leading to the discovery of those eternal laws upon which that universal happiness is dependent!

'May He, who has implanted in our hearts a craving after the discovery of truth, and given us our reasoning faculties to the end that we should use them for this discovery, sanctify our efforts and bless them in their results!'

We have dwelt at some length on this Address, both because it was one of the Prince's best, and because it was his last. It was so highly thought of, that Dr. Farr had it translated into French for circulation abroad,—'a difficult task,' he writes, 'in which M. van de Weyer assisted. The Prince,' he adds, 'evidently thought in German and wrote in English, which it required a good deal of skill to turn into good French.' No one, however, can be familiar with the Prince's German, as compared with his English style, but must be struck by the skill with which he worked his thoughts into clear, vigorous, and idiomatic English.

A few days after delivering the Address, the Prince sent a copy of it (23rd July) from Osborne to Baron Stockmar, with the following letter:—

'I now send you the Address which I delivered in London, eight days ago, at the opening of the International Congress. The subject was a very difficult one, and, considering how the

Address has been received here, I can only congratulate myself on having got through it so well. But my pleasure would be indeed great if my production should meet with your approval.

'I fear the horrible summer to which we have been treated will not have ministered to your health. Here we bear up because we have no leisure to be sick.

'The Prince of Wales will by this time have reached Newfoundland, and according to our calculation Alfred ought to arrive in Capetown to-morrow, but we have had no tidings of him for six weeks.

'We are daily expecting news from Berlin. May God vouchsafe his blessing on the approaching event!'

Next morning brought tidings that the anxiously looked for event, here alluded to, had come off well. 'Soon after we sat down to breakfast,' is the entry in the Queen's Diary, 'came a telegram from Fritz,—Vicky had got a daughter at 8.10, and both were well! What joy! Children jumping about—every one delighted—so thankful and relieved.'

The previous day a letter from the Princess herself had been received, with intelligence of the deepest interest to the Queen and Prince. She had been in communication with the Princess Charles of Hesse, the mother of Prince Louis, who had informed the Princess of her son's great admiration for the Princess Alice, and of his hope, not unmixed with manly misgivings, that she might not regard his suit with indifference. An extract, sent at the same time, of a letter from the young Prince himself, produced such an impression upon the Queen and Prince, that they felt bound, in consideration for him, to ascertain the state of their daughter's feelings. The result was such as to justify the encouragement of the young Prince's hopes. In the meantime no engagement was to be made; but some months later

Prince Louis was to return to England, when he would have an opportunity of pressing his suit in person. It is to this the Prince alludes in the following letter to his daughter at Berlin, written in the fulness of joy at the good tidings of her safety:—

'Osborne, 25th July, 1860.

'Only two words of hearty joy can I offer to the dear newly-made mother (*der lieben Wöchnerin*), and these come from an overflowing heart. The little daughter is a kindly gift from heaven, that will (as I trust) procure for you many a happy hour in the days to come. The telegraph speaks only of your doing well; may this be so in the fullest sense!

'Upon the subject of your last interesting and most important letter, I have replied to Fritz, who will communicate to you as much of my answer as is good for you under present circumstances. Alice is very grateful for your love and kindness to her, and the young man behaves in a manner truly admirable.

'Now farewell, right well!'

Every day brought good news of the little granddaughter, and of the young mother. The Prince could not content himself with his weekly letter to her, and accordingly wrote to her as follows, three days after the letter just quoted:—

'Osborne, 28th July, 1860.

'Everything goes on most excellently, body and soul, mother and child! I hope you are very quiet, and keep this well in mind, that although you are well, and feel yourself well, the body has to take on a new conformation, and the nervous system a new life. . . . Only rest of brain, heart, and body, along with good nourishment, and its assimilation

by regular undisturbed digestion, can restore the animal forces.

'My physiological treatise should not bore you, for it is always good to keep the GREAT PRINCIPLES in view, in accordance with which we have to regulate our actions. However, for all I know, you may be already doing as I wish, in which case this is but "un chiffon de papier de plus."

'The little girl must be a darling. Little maidens are much prettier than boys. I advise her to model herself after her Aunt Beatrice. That excellent lady has now not a moment to spare. "I have no time," she says, when she is asked for anything, "I must write letters to my niece."

'It will make you laugh, if I tell you that I have christened a black mare Ayah (as black nurse). I lately asked the groom, what was the horse's name? which I had forgotten. "Haya," was the answer. "What!" I asked. "We spell it Hay, Why, Hay." You should call your Westphalian nurse, "Hay, Why, Hay!"'

The movements of French propagandists in Belgium had, a few days before this letter was written (21st July), provoked a demonstration of the resolution of the people to maintain their independence which for the time had the effect of putting an end to the activity of French agitators there. The occasion was the thirty-ninth anniversary of King Leopold's accession to the throne. Fêtes were given in all parts of the country, and at these there was shown to be but one feeling among all classes,—devoted loyalty to the Sovereign, and a pride in their nationality, which resented the idea that Belgium should become a department of France. It is to this the Prince alludes in the following letter (31st July) to Baron Stockmar:—

'I do not think I have written to you since our first granddaughter was born. You will no doubt have shared our

joy at that event. Vicky seems to recover with extraordinary rapidity. When she is able to move, she will go for sea air to the Island of Rügen, which is decidedly a judicious step.

'You will have rejoiced at the Belgian demonstration. This was the answer to the idea of annexation, like the "*Risquons tout!*" to the "*liberté, égalité et fraternité*" of the Republic of 1848. May it, like that incident, prove to be the turning point! . . .

'Our Fortifications Bill is at last in the House of Commons. Gladstone continues in the Ministry, but on the condition that he shall be free next year to attack and denounce the fortifications, to the construction of which he this year gives his assent, and the money. Palmerston laughingly yielded this condition to him.'

The Fortifications Bill had been introduced by Lord Palmerston himself in a vigorous speech on the 23rd of July. Writing to the Queen the next day he said:—

'Mr. Gladstone told Viscount Palmerston this evening that he wished it to be understood, that though acquiescing in the step now taken about the fortifications, he kept himself free to take such course as he may think fit upon that subject next year, to which Viscount Palmerston entirely assented. That course will probably be the same which Mr. Gladstone has taken this year, namely, ineffectual opposition and ultimate acquiescence.'

On the 2nd of August tidings were received of the Prince of Wales' safe arrival at St. John's, Newfoundland, where his presence produced a fever of excitement. Of this, some idea may be gathered from a letter to Lady Hardwicke from the wife of the Archdeacon of St. John's which the Prince has preserved among his papers:—

'If all the Colonies feel towards the Prince as Newfoundland does, it was a most politic step to have sent him on this tour.

His appearance is very much in his favour, and his youth and royal, dignified manners and bearing seem to have touched all hearts, for there is scarcely a man or woman who can speak of him without tears. The rough fishermen and their wives are quite wild about him, and we hear of nothing but their admiration. Their most frequent exclamation is, "God bless his pretty face and send him a good wife!"

'He came to see our Cathedral. The Bishop and Henry showed him over it, and his manner to the old Bishop was very beautiful, so gentle, and quite reverential. Every one remarked it, and the Bishop was so touched, he cannot speak of him calmly, but even now only sobs out, "God bless my dear young Prince!" . . . I hope he will carry away a favourable impression of this almost unknown rugged island.'

These and many other gratifying details of the reception which welcomed the Prince to Canada, had not yet reached the Prince, when he wrote the following letter to the Dowager Duchess of Coburg from Osborne (5th August):—

'You will no doubt have shared our delight at the happy event at Potsdam, which has also conferred fresh ancestral dignity upon you. All goes excellently well with Vicky and her little daughter. As I hear, she is to be called Victoria, Elizabeth, Augusta, Charlotte; but by which of these names she is to go is at present unknown to me, which may be accepted as a sufficient reason why I cannot impart the information to you.

'On the same 25th of July, Bertie landed in the New World, and was received in St. John's, Newfoundland, with, enthusiasm. That locality is known to the European, and particularly to the German Philistine, chiefly if not exclusively through the Newfoundland dogs. He therefore pictures to himself the Prince of Wales as surrounded by these animals, and their taking an animated part in the prevailing enthusiasm.

'The voyage across, by what the travellers report, was

not altogether to your taste; eight days' storm, with a very heavy sea and dense mist, I can imagine not to be particularly agreeable. Now, however, it is over, and belongs probably to the things, of which the travellers will speak willingly and with satisfaction; for it is one of our characteristics, that we find a peculiar pleasure in talking of disagreeable things that have befallen us.'

## CHAPTER CIV.

In the month of June England had been shocked and alarmed by the tidings from the Lebanon of a bloody onslaught of the Druses upon the Maronites,—shocked by the atrocity of massacres in which thousands of lives were sacrificed, and alarmed at the prospect of the intervention of Russia or France, to which these might lead, and the consequent renewal of the chronic dangers of the Eastern question. The Druses, it appeared from subsequent inquiries, had only anticipated the Maronites, who, under the instigation of their clergy and of foreign agents, had been meditating a similar onslaught upon them, with the view of overthrowing the Turkish authority in the Lebanon. Aware of what was intended, the Turks determined to profit by the animosity of these contending races, and not only connived at the destruction which ensued, but assisted in it.[1] Their conduct was even more outrageous, when on the 9th of July similar outrages broke out in Damascus; and the Christian quarter was attacked and ravaged by a mob consisting of the lowest order

[1] The Druses and Maronites appear to have been divided, not by questions of religion, but by political rivalry. As to the Christian element in their creed, it may be judged of by the fact reported to the English Government by Lord Dufferin, when sent out as Commissioner to Syria, that the so-called Christian communities of the Maronites had asked, through their Bishops, for 4,500 of the heads of the Druses by way of retribution. 'This,' wrote Lord John Russell, in a Despatch (9th of January, 1861) to Lord Cowley, 'is the manner in which these Christian Bishops in the East preach peace on earth and good will towards men!'

of Moslem fanatics, assisted by large bodies of the Turkish soldiery. During that and the following day it was computed that between one and two thousand Christians were butchered; while in the massacres in the mountains not less than 3,500 males were ascertained to have fallen. The Consulates of France, Austria, Russia, Holland, Belgium, and Greece were destroyed; their inmates took refuge in the house of Abd-el-Kader, who sheltered there about 1,500 Christians from the fanatical fury of the mob, and behaved upon the occasion in a spirit so noble, that he subsequently received the thanks of the British Government.

The misconduct of the local authorities was speedily and effectively punished, under the direction of Fuad Pasha, the Sultan's Commissioner. But what had occurred revealed an absence of governing power so intolerable, that a proposal instantly made by the Emperor of the French to send troops to Syria to restore order, and prevent a renewal of atrocities, was felt to be so well grounded that, subject to proper conditions, it could not be resisted. These conditions were subsequently embodied in a Convention between the five Great European Powers and the Sultan (3rd August), which provided for a body of European troops, not exceeding 12,000, being sent to Syria to aid in the re-establishment of tranquillity. France was to furnish one-half of this force, and the Powers were to agree with the Sultan, as to which of them should provide whatever further troops were required. The five Powers were to contribute any naval force that might be necessary, and six months was fixed as the period for the occupation of Syria by European troops.

It was not without much negotiation that this Convention was arranged. France, which had always laid great stress upon her prestige as protector of the Christians in Syria, was regarded with no little jealousy by the other Powers, who dreaded her obtaining a footing in the country, and using

it for purposes not consistent with the interests of some at least of the other Powers. England, which had the most reason for being on her guard, hung back for a time, but waived her objections on the conditions being secured, which were embodied in the Convention.

The attitude taken up by the English Government was another expression of the distrust which the French Emperor had provoked—a distrust not wholly unnatural, knowing as they did the alteration of his views in regard to Turkey, which had taken place since the close of the Crimean war. He was hurt by the suspicion, that in despatching troops to Syria he had an object beyond the safety of the Christian population; and he gave vent to this feeling in a letter addressed to Count Persigny on the 25th of July, and immediately published in the newspapers—in which, in very emphatic terms, he vindicated himself from the imputations of entertaining designs of any kind, or in any quarter, which could lead to war in Europe. There were some to whom the frankness and sincerity of tone which pervaded this letter furnished only fresh reasons for suspicion. It was said at the time, and with some show of authority, to have been written on the suggestion of Mr. Cobden, with a view to strengthen the hands of the so-called Peace party—a rumour which rather injured its effect. Certainly the Emperor's assurance did not alter, in any respect, the resolve of the country and of Parliament to complete the national defences. But it made many waver in their determination to find a sinister purpose in all his acts. Nor can it be disputed that his future relations with England, which were all in conformity with the views expressed in this letter, in a great measure justified their more charitable judgment. However this may be, the letter was most able, and remarkable as showing how earnestly the Emperor clung to the English alliance :—

'St. Cloud, 25th July, 1860.

'My dear Persigny,—Affairs appear to me to have got into such a tangle—thanks to the mistrust excited everywhere since the war in Italy—that I write to you in the hope that a conversation, in perfect frankness, with Lord Palmerston will remedy the existing evil. Lord Palmerston knows me, and when I affirm a thing he will believe me. Well, you may tell him from me, in terms the most unqualified, that since the peace of Villafranca I have had but one thought, one object,—to inaugurate a new era of peace, and to live on the best terms with all my neighbours, and especially with England. I had renounced Savoy and Nice; and it was the extraordinary additions to Piedmont which made me fall back upon my right to reunite to France provinces that were essentially French. But it will be said, "You wish for peace, yet you go on augmenting immoderately the military forces of France." I deny the fact, utterly and entirely. My army and my fleet have nothing that any one can regard as of a menacing character. My steam navy is far from being even adequate to our wants, and the number of steamers is far short of that of Louis-Philippe's sailing ships. I have 400,000 men under arms; but from this total deduct 60,000 in Algeria, 6,000 in Rome, 8,000 in China, 20,000 *gendarmes*, the sick, and the fresh conscripts, and you will see —what is the fact—that my regiments have an effective strength lower than they had in Louis-Philippe's time. The sole addition to the army has been the creation of the Imperial Guard. Moreover, while wishing for peace, I desire also to organise my forces on the best possible footing: for, if foreigners have only seen the bright side of the late war, I, being on the spot, have witnessed our defects, and these I wish to remedy. This granted, I have not, since Villafranca, done, nay, not even thought of, anything to cause alarm to any one. When Lavalette' [the French Ambassador at the Porte] 'started for Constantinople, the instructions which I gave him were confined to this: "Use every effort to maintain the *status quo;* it is the interest of France that Turkey should live as long as possible."[2]

[2] This was very different from the language which Lavalette himself was reported to have used, and which, if correctly reported, was calculated to produce exactly the opposite impression in regard to the Emperor's intentions.

'Now, then, occur the massacres in Syria, and people are found who assert, that I am delighted to find a new occasion for making a little war, or of playing a new part. Really such people give me credit for very little common sense. If I instantly proposed an expedition, it is because I feel as the people feel, who have put me at their head, and the intelligence from Syria transported me with indignation.. But my very first thought was to come to an understanding with England. What other interest than that of humanity could induce me to send troops into that country? Could the possession of that country by possibility enhance my strength? Is it not an ever-recurring cause of regret to me to see how Algeria for the last thirty years has absorbed the purest of France's blood and treasure? I said in 1850 at Bordeaux—and am still of the same mind—that I have great conquests to make, but they are to be made in France. I have still to organise this country, morally and socially. I have still to develop her internal resources, which even yet are in a languishing state; and those objects present a field for my ambition, vast enough to more than satisfy it.

'It was difficult for me to come to an understanding with England about Venetia, because I was bound by the peace of Villafranca. But as to Central Italy I am free from engagements, and I ask for nothing better than to be at one with England on this subject as upon others; but in heaven's name, let the eminent men who are at the head of the Government lay aside pitiful jealousies and unfounded distrust! Let us deal frankly and loyally with one another like honest men, as we are, and not like rogues, who are each bent on cheating the other.

One of the great difficulties of the Foreign Secretary must always be to determine how much is to be believed, and how much rejected, of the intelligence forwarded by his representatives at foreign Courts. There is much truth in what is said by Sir George Cornewall Lewis, in a letter to Lord Palmerston (23rd November, 1860), quoted in Mr. Evelyn Ashley's *Life of Lord Palmerston* (vol. ii. p. 333): 'We keep in every country of the world a paid agent, often of great activity and intelligence, whose time in general is only half employed, and whose business it is to frighten his own Government with respect to the ambitions and encroaching designs of foreign Governments.' Unhappily, as matters stand, it is better as a rule to be suspicious than trustful or supine. Sir George C. Lewis himself admits, that it is not only natural, but 'proper, that they should keep a sharp look-out for the machinations of foreign Governments.'

'To sum up, this is my innermost thought. I am anxious that Italy should obtain peace, no matter how, so that I can withdraw from Rome, and that foreign intervention may be averted. I am most anxious not to go to Syria alone: first, because of the great expense; and next, because I fear my doing so may involve me in the Eastern question. But, on the other hand, I do not see how I can resist the public opinion of my country, which will never brook that we should leave unpunished, not only the massacre of Christians, but also the burning of our Consulate, the insult to our flag, and the pillage of monasteries which were under our protection.

'I have made a clean breast of my thoughts, disguising nothing, omitting nothing. Make of my letter what use you please. The style is free and familiar, but it is therefore the more sincere.'

It was characteristic of the Emperor and his mode of governing, that a letter of this importance was written and despatched without consultation with even his leading Minister. In some of the opinions expressed, the Emperor was in advance of many of the most active politicians in France, both within and without the Imperial circle,—in the obvious anxiety to conciliate England by deference to her views, and by the assurance of his determination to leave her undisturbed,—in his frank admissions about Algeria,—in his somewhat curt reference to the Pope,—and in his strongly expressed desire to go hand in hand with England about Italy, a desire which implied the approval, by no means generally entertained in France, of the formation of a great Italian kingdom. M. Thouvenel saw in this letter a double danger, first, that it might wound the feelings of the French nation, and next, that it committed the Emperor to pledges, which he might find it hard to fulfil.

But, as regarded public opinion in England, the letter was certainly well timed, and served to allay some of the disquietude which had been occasioned by the doctrine of natural

frontiers,[3] and by the prevalent rumours of the activity of French agents in the Palatinate, in Belgium, in Poland, and even in Ireland. It elicited, however, no very warm response from the Government; who being better informed by their agents in different parts of Europe of what was being done by persons professing to derive their inspiration from the Court of the Tuileries, than the general public could be, naturally waited to see if the acts of the French Government confirmed the pacific assurances of the Sovereign. These were formally accepted as having been felt as a relief, and France was told that England was ready to remain on the most friendly terms with her while she left her neighbours at peace. (*Despatch, Lord John Russell to Lord Cowley*, 5th of August, 1860.)

The immediate source of anxiety was Venetia, to regain which it was apprehended that Sardinia, unless restrained by France, would be impelled by the impetus which the national movement in Italy had received from the successes of the insurgents and the Garibaldian army in Sicily. The royal troops were, towards the end of July, shut up in the Citadel of Messina, and Garibaldi and his friends were preparing to transfer active operations to the mainland. Feeling the power crumbling beneath him, which he had wantonly abused, Francis II. had, at the end of June, offered to grant to his Neapolitan subjects the Constitution of 1848, and to Sicily the Constitution of 1812, or any other Constitution they might prefer. He had also proposed an intimate alliance with Sardinia, and adherence to a national

[3] In the last volume, then recently published, of his *History of the Consulate and the Empire*, M. Thiers had written strongly in support of this doctrine, and shown that he was prepared to risk the peace of Europe and the fortunes of France in obtaining for her those 'natural frontiers' of which he considered her to have been vindictively deprived by the Congress of Vienna. M. Thiers lived to see to what disastrous results for France his own most cherished dream of enlarging her frontier of 1790 had led.

Italian policy. But it was too late. The conviction had become general, that the only hope for constitutional freedom was in a change of dynasty, and in annexation to the State that had been the representative and champion of the liberty and nationality of the peninsula. In vain the King of Naples appealed to the other Powers of Europe to help him in confronting the danger which he had provoked. Which of them would have ventured to undertake that task, with the uncertainty before them as to what Powers they might find ranged against them in their attempt to uphold a dynasty, which had in despite of repeated warnings forfeited its right to govern? It was well known that the Emperor of the French had protested against Garibaldi's enterprise, and the enrolment in Northern Italy of volunteers to support it. But even he, when appealed to by envoys from the Court of Naples for assistance, declined to interfere. 'The Italians,' he said, 'thoroughly understand that, having given the blood of my soldiers for the independence of their country, I will never fire a shot against this independence. It is this conviction which has led them to annex Tuscany contrary to my interests, and which is urging them forward now to Naples.[4] To save the King single-handed is past my power; I must be aided by my allies.' Sardinia alone, he at the same time told them, could arrest the course of revolution, and to Sardinia he recommended them to apply.

All, however, which the Neapolitan envoys could obtain from Sardinia was a letter from the King to Garibaldi (22nd July), urging him not to invade the Neapolitan continent. But to this appeal Garibaldi (27th July) courteously responded, that much as he should like to do so, he could not obey His Majesty's injunctions. He was

[4] The reader will remember Cavour's words to M. Benedetti, cited above (note, p. 97), on signing the cession of Savoy and Nice, '*Et maintenant vous voilà nos complices!*'

called for by the people of Naples, whom he had tried in vain to restrain. 'If he should now hesitate,' he added, 'he should endanger the cause of Italy. When his task was accomplished of emancipating the Neapolitan people from tyranny, he would lay down his sword at His Majesty's feet, and obey His Majesty for the remainder of his lifetime.' Meanwhile the feeling throughout the peninsula in favour of union with Sardinia continued to gain strength. It became more and more apparent, that the Italians would be left to fight out the question for themselves. The fall of the Bourbon dynasty at Naples would not move a man or a ship of any other Power. All the care of diplomatists was to prevent Austria being forced into the field by an attack on Venetia, because this would certainly drag other Powers into the conflict, and possibly endanger that settlement of the question of Italian independence to which its friends were now looking forward with the liveliest hopes.

How Prussia and Germany might act in such an eventuality was a question of the gravest interest. Curiosity was stimulated by the announcement that the Emperor of Austria and the Prince Regent of Prussia were to meet at Töplitz on the 25th of July. As usual on such occasions, the wildest speculations were circulated as to what had taken place. The British Government, however, had again the advantage of being made acquainted with the exact facts, through a letter (29th July) from the Prince Regent of Prussia to the Prince Consort.

On receiving this communication, the Prince wrote to Lord John Russell (4th August) to inform him, that the Prince Regent had sent him 'an account of his interview with the Emperor of Austria, written with the same openness and completeness as his Report on the meeting of Baden.' By this it appeared, that 'there had been no written or even verbal engagement, but only a thorough discussion

and communication of ideas.' The Prince Regent had been urged by the King of Bavaria and other Sovereigns to see the Emperor of Austria, as he had engaged at Baden to treat with him on the matters alluded to there, and a letter had come from the Emperor, inviting the Prince to meet him at some neutral place like Dresden, and to ask the other Kings or any of them to be present. The Prince had selected Töplitz, and had preferred to meet the Emperor alone, as he had undertaken at Baden to treat directly with him.

'The Emperor,' the Prince continued, 'is anxious that Prussia and Germany should act in common in case of a common danger. He hopes and believes, that an attack by France against him in Italy will be considered as such a case of common interest. He does not ask for Prussian assistance in case he were to make an attack, unless, indeed, after negotiations, Prussia should have recognised a necessity for such aggression. The Emperor declares himself, however, not to have the least intention of acting aggressively.

'On internal policy the Emperor will proceed with his reforms, whereby he may gain the sympathies of Germany. In the question of the reorganisation of the Federal Army, two Generals, one Prussian and one Austrian, are to negotiate for a division into two commands on the basis of the understanding of 1840.

'The Emperor fears that Sicily may be lost to the King of Naples, and hopes that he will be able to maintain himself at Naples. He does not believe in an attack upon Venetia this year; but his *entourage* believe that in about six weeks the propaganda, Victor Emmanuel and Garibaldi, will begin their joint attack.

'He hopes to calm Hungary by concessions.

'He promises to be as just as possible to the Protestant Church, which the Prince Regent has most strongly urged—

also with a view to conciliating public opinion in Northern Germany.

'The Prince Regent seems to have given the very best advice. He found the Emperor self-possessed and open, speaking of Russia and England without any bitterness. . . . His distrust of France is complete.

'Will you consider this communication as quite confidential, but let Lord Palmerston see it with the same request?'

The Emperor of Austria was right in his conjecture that there would be no attack upon Venetia that year. The Italians had already quite enough upon their hands, and the statesman, whose task it was soon to be to take the guidance of the movement for national unity, was too well aware of the dangers of every step in that direction to be likely to run into them. Between her apprehension, however, of attack on that side and of a rising in Hungary, the position of Austria was one of extreme uneasiness. She still hesitated to do, what she did partially and ineffectually in the following October, but was ultimately compelled after the defeat of Sadowa to do completely. While, therefore, she hung back from restoring to Hungary her rights as an independent monarchy, with its own powers of taxation and internal government, she kept alive the discontent and agitation at home, which made her weak to resist encroachment from without.

The Prince, in his reply to the Prince Regent's letter, speaks out upon this subject with his usual boldness and clearness of view. This will be seen even from such portions of what he wrote, as may without impropriety be given:—

'Osborne, 5th August, 1860.

'My dear Cousin,—You have again given me a proof of your friendly confidence, by your communication of so

complete an account of your recent meeting with the Emperor of Austria. To my cordial thanks I can again add our congratulations upon the admirable way in which you have handled that meeting and endeavoured to turn it to the advantage of Germany and of Europe. . . .

'What further development the Italian question will take I do not venture to predict; but my belief is that nothing will tend so much as an abstinence from all external intervention to force the Italians into a solution of their own internal questions, and to this we may look for the surest safeguard against their making further appeals for aid from without. . . . The worst thing for the King is, that, after taking pains to perpetuate his father's system out of personal conviction, he now feels that he can rely neither on his troops nor on his fleet. The constitutional promises which he now makes are contrasted with the broken pledges of his father, grandfather, and great-grandfather, and the Count Montemolin's recent breach of faith is pointed to as a proof that the present generation of the Bourbons is as little to be relied on as its predecessors. Our Ministry is decidedly anxious that the Two Sicilies should be kept independent of Sardinia, but such is the popular hatred of the Neapolitan *régime*, which for the last twelve years has been the object of general execration, that any step, which could be open to the suspicion of seeming to uphold it, is next to impossible.

'May the Emperor Francis Joseph go on with his reforms, and cause justice to be done to Protestants, Hungarians, Jews, &c.! It is high time. It seems to me that one of his chief difficulties consists in the fundamental difference between his and his people's way of looking at things. He proposes to make concessions as acts of grace; they, on the other hand, ask to have a legal status, and institutions not dependent on the good or ill will of the Sovereign. They

had, most of them, documentary rights (*Verbriefte Rechte*), as they were called, in the Middle Ages, and as the Revolution of 1848 had overthrown everything, the Emperor was wrong, when it had been put down, not to return to a state of things based upon law and right, instead of, as it were, legitimising the Revolution by proclaiming himself its heir. . . .

'How happily has everything passed off with Vicky this time! We cannot be sufficiently grateful to heaven. The little granddaughter has doubtless been as welcome to you as to ourselves. Now we are rejoicing at the thought of meeting Vicky soon, and making the acquaintance at least of her little boy, and we are especially pleased at the prospect of seeing you at Coburg. While you are at Ostend, where I wish you better weather than as yet has fallen to your lot, we shall be at Balmoral.

'We have now good news of Bertie's arrival and reception in the New World. (His crossing was a very stormy one.) Of Alfred's arrival at the Cape, however, we are still without any tidings.

'I must add that M. Thouvenel has expressed himself as very unhappy about the publication of the Emperor's letter to M. de Persigny, which, he fears, will hurt His Majesty in the eyes of his people, and contained promises which might be very difficult for him to fulfil!'

The day after this letter was written (6th August) the Court moved from Osborne to Balmoral, taking Edinburgh by the way, where a review of the Scottish Volunteer forces had been appointed for the 7th.

'At 8.10,' says the Queen's Diary, 'we were at the Edinburgh Station. The Duke of Buccleuch and usual authorities, besides the Staff come down for the Review, received us. Many people out and most friendly.' The morning was

devoted to a visit to the Duchess of Kent, who was spending the summer at Cramond House, some miles to the west of Edinburgh,—'a small cheerful house, looking across the Frith of Forth,' the Queen writes, 'with a pretty garden, and surrounded by beautiful beech, sycamore, and other trees.' After a short stay, the Queen and Prince returned to Holyrood Palace, passing through the town, which they found all astir with excitement, the streets crowded with people, and troops of Volunteers on their way to the Review.

The scene of the Review was Holyrood Park, a long level space stretching eastward from Holyrood Palace at the base of the steep ascent which is crowned by Arthur's Seat, and also commanded by the great breadth of slope westwards, which terminates in the picturesque ridge of Salisbury Crags. A nobler arena for such a display could not be imagined; and the enthusiasm of the multitudes, which covered every inch of ground, on slope, and peak, and crag, from which it could be seen, made even more exciting a spectacle that abounded in features peculiarly fitted to satisfy the eye and to quicken the imagination. Of all the cities of Europe, none presents so many points as Edinburgh for giving effect to holiday movement and display. The spot, moreover, on which the Review took place, was not merely dear to Scotchmen from the associations of history and romance, but it has in itself more features of mingled beauty and grandeur than any other in the 'grey metropolis of the North.'

The gathering was a truly national one. From all parts of the country vast multitudes flocked to Edinburgh, to testify their loyalty to the Queen, and the hold which the Volunteer movement had upon their hearts. As the English counties had sent the flower of their local corps to the Review in Hyde Park in June, so now came a goodly array of the best blood and bone and sinew from nearly every county in

Scotland to swell the general muster. From the Orkneys, 'placed far amid the melancholy main,' from Caithness, from Inverness, from Aberdeen, from the hills of Argyleshire, from the banks of Loch Tay, from the straths and upland pastures of the valley of the Tay, from Forfarshire, Fifeshire, and Stirlingshire, came the picked men of each district. Nithsdale, Annandale, Galloway, Roxburghshire, and Selkirkshire sent their contingents from the South, swelled by troops from Tynemouth, Alnwick, Sunderland, and Whitehaven; while Glasgow and the West of Scotland furnished about one-third of the entire force of at least 22,000 men, who came together on that day to salute their Sovereign under the windows of the ancient palace of Holyrood.[5]

The day was fine to a wish, the sun shining brightly, and set off the animated scene to the greatest advantage. As the Volunteers, troop by troop, marched to their positions, the bulk, the stature, the fine muscular development of the men, no less than the precision of their movements and their soldierly bearing, excited general admiration. Nor was

[5] A visitor to Edinburgh at this time would have found it much as Mr. Jonathan Oldbuck in Scott's novel says he found it in the days of Napoleon's threatened invasion at the beginning of the century. 'I called to consult my lawyer; he was clothed in a dragoon's dress, belted and casqued, and about to mount a charger, while his writing-clerk (habited as a sharpshooter) walked to and fro before his door. I went to scold my agent for having sent me to advise with a madman: he had stuck into his head the plume, which in more sober days he wielded between his fingers, and figured as an artillery officer. My mercer had his spontoon in his hand, as if he measured his cloth by that implement, instead of a legitimate yard. The banker's clerk, who was directed to sum my cash account, blundered it three times, being disordered by the recollection of his military *tellings off* at the morning drill. I was ill and sent for a surgeon—

> 'He came—but valour so had fired his eye,
> And such a falchion glittered on his thigh,
> That, by the gods, with such a load of steel,
> I thought he came to murder, not to heal.

I had recourse to a physician, but he also was practising a more wholesale mode of slaughter than that which his profession had been supposed at all times to open to him.'—*The Antiquary*, chap. vi.

this wonderful, for the ranks were filled by the very flower and manhood of a hardy and spirited race. 'Mama arrived,' says Her Majesty's Diary, 'about a quarter to three, and waited with us, looking at the splendid scene,—Arthur's Seat covered with human beings, and the Volunteers with bands marching in from every direction on to the ground close in front of the Palace. We waited long, watching everything from the window.' Soon after half-past three the Queen came upon the ground in an open carriage and four, in which were seated with her the Duchess of Kent, the Princess Alice, and Prince Arthur. The Princess Helena, Princess Louise, and Prince Leopold, followed in the next carriage. The Prince Consort rode on the right side of the Queen's carriage, and the Duke of Buccleuch, as Lord Lieutenant of the county and captain of the Royal Body-Guard of Scottish Archers, on the left. As Her Majesty passed along the lines of the Volunteers, who stood at the salute, the whole assembled multitudes that crowded the slopes of the great natural amphitheatre of the adjoining hills broke into acclamations. 'The effect,' wrote a spectator, 'of the cheering on the hill-side was not less than sublime. Peal after peal broke forth in thunder, carried away by the strong wind, to be again and again renewed.'

Then came the marching past, and this, again to quote Her Majesty's Diary, 'lasted an hour and ten minutes. Very good, very fine men, the Highlanders splendid. Lord Breadalbane, riding at the head of his own body of five hundred Highlanders, looked magnificent and was loudly cheered. The only drawback was the dust, which came at times in such clouds, as to prevent the men from seeing anything, and yet they marched so well. . . . Every one looked so dirty, just as after a dusty Aldershot day, and the dust was of a much more disagreeable kind for the eyes.'

The Volunteers, who had kept silence during the Review,

according to the British rule of military discipline, so soon as it was over, showed that they were resolved not to be behind the lookers-on in letting their loyalty be heard. Advancing in line, they saluted the Sovereign with cheers which seemed to surpass in concentrated energy those of the far greater numbers which had preceded them. 'Cheers,' says the Royal Diary, 'which never ceased, and went on again and again.' Caps were thrown into the air, or stuck upon rifles, and waved wildly to and fro; while not a few, throwing discipline aside, broke from the ranks, and hurried, cheering, after the royal carriage, until it re-entered the precincts of the Palace. 'We came home,' the Queen writes, 'at near six, so delighted that dear Mama could be present on this memorable and never to be forgotten occasion. She had not witnessed anything of the kind for long (the distribution of the Crimean Medals in 1854, and of the Victoria Cross in 1857, excepted), and had not driven with me on any similar occasion for above twenty-six years!'

Former experiences had made the Queen no stranger to the heartiness with which her Northern subjects express their loyalty, nevertheless their enthusiasm throughout this exciting day impressed her deeply. In a hasty note written the same evening to King Leopold, Her Majesty refers to it with obvious satisfaction:—

'Holyrood, 7th August, 1860.

'We came down here by night train, arriving at 8 A.M. We paid Mama [the Duchess of Kent] a visit at her really charming residence at Cramond, quite near the sea, with beautiful trees, and very cheerful. And this afternoon she was present the whole time at the splendid Volunteer Review, which lasted from half-past three till near six, in the open carriage with me, and enjoyed it greatly. I was happy to have her with me on this memorable occasion, having had

*you* with me at the Review in Hyde Park. It was magnificent,—finer decidedly than in London. There were more men, and the scenery here is so splendid. That fine mountain, Arthur's Seat, was crowded with people to the very top; and the Scotch are very demonstrative in their loyalty. Lord Breadalbane, at the head of his Highlanders, was the very picture of a Highland chieftain.'

On the following day (8th August) the Court reached Balmoral, and the Prince mentions, in his Diary, that he had the good fortune the very next day to shoot a fine stag, and on the 13th to kill fifty head of grouse to his own gun. But the season was as bad for game as it was for the harvest, and on the few days the Prince was able to go out on his favourite sport of deer-stalking, ill-success seems generally to have attended his efforts. At Balmoral, as elsewhere, his mind was busy on subjects of national interest. Thus on the 14th he wrote on the subject of the Naval Reserve to Lord Palmerston, who had sent him a letter and memorandum by the Duke of Somerset, then First Lord of the Admiralty, containing information on the subject, for which the Prince, on behalf of Her Majesty, had asked some time before :—

'Balmoral, 14th August, 1860.

'My dear Lord Palmerston,—I return the Duke of Somerset's letter and memorandum. It shows what I had been afraid of, viz. that we have not yet much of a Naval Reserve.

'The Coast Volunteers are, for the greater part, landsmen, and as they cannot, by the terms of their engagement, be used beyond fifty leagues from the shore, they are useless for general purposes, and cannot be drafted into the fleet.

'Of the 20,000 or 30,000 men, "Naval Reserve," whom the Manning Commission recommended to be raised, and in

whom the Government and Parliament recognised the only real safeguard for the country, as impressment is considered inapplicable in our days, we have, after, more than a year's operation of the measure, only got 1,419! Of these we must calculate that more than one-half are out on long voyages; so that our Naval Reserve, for a sudden emergency, amounts to 700 men.

'What I have never understood is, that the Admiralty does not try to raise and train for the service more boys, who are most easily got, cheap to keep, and make much better sailors for the Royal Navy when grown up, than men entered in the ports, and who have been brought up in the Merchant Service, and may have contracted every vice of indiscipline. We actually require on an average 4,000 boys a year, and we have only 1,880 in our school ships (this number including even the Novices!) If we had a reserve of 5,000 boys, these would almost supply the Navy in peace time. And if an equal number of men who have served in the Navy were placed in the Naval Reserve, when these boys grow up and take their places, we should soon have an efficient reserve force, not requiring any further training, and most valuable to the Merchant Service from the previous training received in the Royal Navy.

'But something must really be done. Government and Parliament have recognised the necessity of it, and acknowledged it to the country; and, if the plan which was to supply the defect fails, something else must be tried. The pledge is not redeemed by adopting a plan which does not work, but by achieving a success by whatever plan may ensure it.'

The subject of training boys for the Navy was no new one to the Prince. Two years previously he had brought his views on the subject before Lord Hardwicke, the Chairman of a

Committee then sitting on the subject of the manning the Navy, in the following letter:—

'My dear Lord Hardwicke,—In your position as Chairman of the "Manning Committee" I wish to draw your attention to a point which I consider of the utmost importance.

'We have two brigs, the *Rolla* and *Nautilus*, at Portsmouth and Plymouth, for apprenticing boys for the Navy. You are perfectly acquainted with their excellent system, and the fact that, after having completed their time of instruction, these boys form the best sailors in the Queen's service, having acquired a taste for the "man-of-war" service early in life, and being free from any connection with the merchants' service.

'But these two ships give the Navy only about 200 seamen a year. What are 400 annually to a fleet of 50,000? Why should not each of the coast-guard ships have a brig attached to them on their respective stations for receiving boys? The brigs are worth nothing to the service, and I am told that the applications for the entry of boys are always far beyond the present means of receiving, whilst men are frequently not to be had. If 2,000 boys so trained were added every year to the Navy for ten years' service it would be none too many. It would only give us 20,000 men at the end of ten years, but these would be permanently added to the stock of seamen of the country, which I am sorry to say appears to be gradually falling below our wants. Ever yours truly,

'ALBERT.

'Osborne, 24th July, 1858.'

Birthdays, it will have been noticed, were never forgotten in the Royal Family, and they were always made the occasion for kind words, which may be superfluous as assurances of affection, but to which those who have the least reason to doubt its existence, are never indifferent. The 17th of this

month was the birthday of the Duchess of Kent; and of all the Prince's circle she was the least likely to be overlooked on such an anniversary. He knew that to her it would be a sad one, for on the 12th he had learned that her only surviving sister[6] had been struck with apoplexy. This added to the regret which he expressed in the following letter for the absence of the Duchess from the family circle :—

'Balmoral, 15th August, 1860.

'Ink and paper are, and unhappily must be, the medium to-day for conveying to you my good wishes for the 17th. We are unfortunate in being so often separated from you now on that day. May the presence of three dear grandchildren act as a compensation and serve to cheer you, for the thought of your invalid sister will, no doubt, hang upon you like a gloomy veil, and mar your otherwise complete enjoyment! We have heard no further news of Aunt since yesterday morning.

'We beg you will be pleased to accept our gifts graciously, and to picture to your thoughts the improvements or renovations which await you at Frogmore.[7]

'The children write everything to you in greater or less detail. We have just heard from Bertie, from Halifax, where the news of Vicky's confinement met him, and where they spoke to him in kindly remembrance of the Duke of Kent.

'Vicky's little daughter was baptized yesterday at half-past one; and we had news of the fact by telegraph at three. It is now called Charlotte. Once more a thousand good wishes. Ever your devoted son,

'ALBERT.'

[6] The Princess Juliana Henrietta Ulrica, born 23rd September, 1781, married in 1796 to the Grand Duke Constantine of Russia, when she assumed the name of Anna Feodorowna.

[7] The residence of the Duchess, where considerable improvements for her convenience were being carried out.

The same evening, a telegram announced the death that day at Elfenau of the Grand Duchess Anne, widow of the Grand Duke Constantine of Russia, and sister of King Leopold; and the Prince again wrote to the Duchess of Kent:—

'My yesterday's letter was scarcely gone, when the mournful telegram arrived from Berne! So once more I write to you on black-edged paper! What a sad birthday for you this will be! With poor Aunt it is well, and now one may indeed say, that a partial restoration (for a complete one was impossible, especially at her advanced age) would have been a great misfortune for her. Infirm and crippled, with mental faculties enfeebled, and her sensibility of feeling over-strong, quite alone among strangers, without children of her own who would regard it as a privilege and a pleasure to nurse her, life would have been certain to become insupportable to her! Still such considerations do not alleviate the grief of the survivors. My only wish is, that it may not injure your health. Ever your devoted son,

'ALBERT.

'Balmoral, 16th August 1860.'

On the 21st the Prince wrote as follows to his now most taciturn friend at Coburg:—

'I must once more make inquiry how you are. I know it will be fruitless, for I shall get no reply; still I must and will in that case comfort myself with the proverb, 'No news is good news.' Of ourselves I am able to give you a good account, notwithstanding the utter absence of any summer. We have not hitherto had one summer's day, and yet, according to the calendar, the summer is nearly over! Here there is no living in the house without a fire, and if you go out, you get frightfully wet. Nevertheless, we do go out deer-stalking, and with as much success as usual.

'You will have been greatly grieved at the death of good Aunt Julia. . . . Poor Uncle Leopold will be greatly cut up by it; he was particularly fond of his sister, and her romantic character had a special charm for him. I fear his cure at Wiesbaden will have been greatly disturbed by this event. Mama was also greatly distressed, but, beyond this, I do not hear that her health has been affected. She had her grandchildren, Victor Hohenlohe and Ernest and Marie Leiningen, with her on her birthday, which cheered her up. Cramond, the country house which she has taken near Edinburgh, is very prettily situated on the sea, and has a wonderfully fine look-out across the Frith of Forth. We visited her there when we halted at Edinburgh on the 7th for the Volunteer Review.

'This Review was magnificent. There were present 22,000 Volunteers and more than 200,000 spectators, who covered the whole of Arthur's Seat down to the front of Holyrood, where the Review took place. The French are as much out of humour at this demonstration as Messrs. Cobden and Bright. The former remarked to an American in Paris, among others—"As for Prince Albert's Rifle mania, that is mere Germanism in the disguise of British patriotism." The American despatched the whole conversation forthwith to the *New York Herald*, from which it has come back to our papers! The British patriotism, however, of the British themselves goes on arming without interruption. The Fortification Bill has passed, and will secure a permanent protection to our harbours. . . .

'We have good news of our travelling sons from Nova Scotia and Rio Janeiro. The two others are with us here—Leopold for the first time, which makes him very happy.'

The Emperor of the French felt acutely the comparative failure, referred to by the Prince, of his letter to Count

Persigny in re-establishing the old cordiality in the relations between the English Government and his own. Hearing that Lord Clarendon was to be in Paris, he intimated through M. Thouvenel a wish to see him, knowing well from former experience that no one was better able to report the true state of public feeling in England, or more certain to speak his mind without reserve on what it concerned the Emperor to know. The conversation that ensued was reported by Lord Clarendon in a letter to Lord Palmerston (20th August), which Lord John Russell, who was then staying with his family at Abergeldie Castle, sent on a few days afterwards to the Queen. Lord Clarendon had little to tell the Emperor, which the Emperor had not already learned from Lord Cowley and through other channels. But the interview was not without influence upon the Emperor's mind, and it is clear, from Lord Clarendon's account of it, that he was for the time thoroughly in earnest in the purpose to abstain from embroiling Europe in war:—

'I have seen the Emperor,' Lord Clarendon wrote, 'who was very friendly, and talked upon all subjects with his usual frankness. After some preliminary gossip, he said he wished me to explain to him the feelings of aversion and mistrust which he had inspired in England.

'I begged permission to answer his inquiry without reserve, and then said that his inexplicable policy was the whole cause of it. That it was not alone his taking of Savoy, but the manner in which he had taken it, that had irritated the English nation. He had first published a proclamation at Milan, which was received with universal applause. He had then declared that he did not mean to take Savoy; then he would have it by consent of the Sardinian Parliament and the universal wish of Savoy, to which he added Nice; and all these announcements had been made to us and disregarded the next day, as if he wished to proclaim his utter contempt of English opinion.

'But this was not all; because his annexation of Savoy to France was thought to be the beginning of an aggressive policy,

in furtherance of his scheme of *remaniement de la carte de l'Europe*, which meant tearing up treaties, despoiling States, and creating confusion—and what was the consequence? Why, that alarm, mistrust, most unnecessary expense in armaments, want of confidence, check to enterprise, and enormous commercial losses, now prevailed throughout Europe. Men woke in the morning, inquiring what surprise had been *ménagé* for them in the night, and all this at a time when Europe wanted repose and economy, and when Governments wished to advance the material prosperity of their people by taking advantage of all the improvements in art and science.

'Was it possible, I asked, that a straightforward, industrious people like the English should not resent such a state of things, and be irritated at its cause? I must further observe, that the system of making known his intentions and feeling his way by means of anonymous pamphlets appeared to me a dangerous novelty, and that he ought not to be surprised at its giving universal offence.

'The Emperor allowed me to go on without showing any signs of displeasure, and only remarked that he was wronged about the pamphlets; that he could not prevent their publication, and he explained the law of France. But I said he could not deny the authorship of "*Le Pape et le Congrès*," and that, as it was known he had once resorted to such means, he was, of course, more than suspected of using them again by the different parties whose interests they affected.

'He then said, with his characteristic *naïveté*, that he was generally distrusted—that nobody believed what he said—that the worst designs were imputed to him, and that he had therefore determined *de se retirer dans sa coquille*, and no longer to take an active part in the questions that were usually supposed to interest France. I said, it appeared to me a wise determination, and that, if adhered to, it might do more than anything else to restore the confidence of which he regretted the loss.

'He said he was sure the King of Naples would run away. In that case, I asked His Majesty if he thought Garibaldi would march against Venetia? His Majesty had not the least doubt of it. If the Austrians, I asked, should act wisely and wait for him within their own frontier, will the Sardinians go to the assistance of Garibaldi and attack Austria? His Majesty

had no doubt of that either. "Shall you then, sir, go to the assistance of the Sardinians, provided that Austria observes the Treaty of Zürich, and does not attempt to recover Lombardy, or to meddle with Parma and Modena?" "Most assuredly not," was the answer. "Have you given them notice of it?" "I have. I know they say *que je fais de la diplomatie*, and that they shall like to see when the first Austrian cannon is fired, if I shall dare not to come to their assistance. But they will find that my *diplomatie est une vérité et une réalité.*"

'I have never seen him in a more sober and less speculative state of mind, and never so alive to the reality of his own position, and to the state of public opinion respecting his policy. I think he feels strongly that the English alliance is the only one he can rely on, and that it is his interest to regain, by deserving it, the confidence of the English people.'

In what the Emperor said as to the course he meant to pursue in regard to Sardinia and Venetia, he subsequently showed that he was quite in earnest. Beyond all doubt he would gladly have seen Venetia added to Sardinia as the result of a pacific transaction, for it was part of his programme, and it would have left him more free to disembarrass himself of the irksome task of holding Rome for the Pope. But he was resolute in his determination not to be dragged into supporting any unprovoked invasion of Venetia in violation of the arrangements of Villafranca and Zürich. The knowledge of this strengthened the hands of Count Cavour and of Victor Emmanuel in holding in check the rash ardour of Garibaldi and others, when soon afterwards, in the flush of their success in upsetting the Bourbon dynasty in Naples, they thought to wrest Venetia from the hands of Austria, and when the attempt, instead of completing, as they hoped, the work of liberation, might have endangered all that they had already achieved.

On the 7th of October, 1859, the Queen and Prince had made the ascent of Ben Muich Dhui, the highest of the

Scottish mountains.[8] They had then so thoroughly enjoyed the excursion, and taken away so delightful an impression of the magnificent panorama which is visible from its summit, that they determined to make another ascent this year. This intention they carried out on the 24th of August, taking with them the Princess Alice and the Princess Helena. The ascent was accomplished with no less happy results than on the former occasion. The day was fine, the atmosphere clear, and the views unusually splendid. It was the best possible refreshment for the overtasked mind and spirits of the Prince.

Two days later (26th August) came his own birthday, and with it the usual gifts and greetings from those who loved him. They drew many letters from him in reply. To his daughter in Berlin he wrote the next day :—

'Balmoral, 27th August, 1860.

'Hearty thanks for your dear lines, which I found yesterday on my table under the Staghorn chandeliers. I did indeed miss you! Four of you were absent—Bertie, Affie, Baby, and you!—but all were well employed and doing well, and for a father's heart that is the chief concern. Your little *tableau vivant*[9] is indeed the best of gifts and the best of productions, only it has the disadvantage, that I cannot manage to see it. I console myself, however, with the hope of seeing your first work before long, and although you have always something to object to in it, yet it is to me a source of great

[8] In the *Leaves from a Journal* the Queen, in writing about this ascent, incidentally notes the impression which the Prince's cheerful and kindly ways produced upon those about him. He had ridden on, 'talking so gaily with Grant,' his head keeper, 'upon which Brown observed to me, in simple Highland phrase, "It's very pleasant to walk with a person who is always content."' Again, in answer to a remark by the Queen, that the Prince never was cross after bad luck when out shooting, Brown said, 'Every one on the estate says there never was so kind a master.'

[9] The allusion obviously is to the two children of the Princess.

delight. The 26th fell upon a quiet day in Scotland, but to me the quiet was the very thing, and accords best with my mood of mind.

'The people, however, intend to hold a festival on Thursday in honour of the day.'

The Prince's stepmother, the Dowager Duchess of Coburg, had been for some time in very delicate health. When he wrote the following letter in reply to her congratulations on his birthday, he had, however, no reason to apprehend that they were the last she would send him:—

'Accept my most hearty thanks for your kind good wishes for the 26th, which we spent in the quietude of a Scottish Sunday. I will salute with great satisfaction, as coming from your hand, the picture which you announce as on its way. That you continue to give such bad news of your own health makes me very unhappy, and troubles the otherwise so cheerful thought of soon being able to be in Coburg and Gotha. The terribly damp summer is no doubt in some degree to blame for your indisposition. May a fine autumn help to restore your strength!

'I was convinced that you would be greatly distressed, too, by the death of good Aunt Julia. She retained her vivacity of mind and feeling, her vital freshness and amiability to the last. It is now plain that the attack, which ended her life on the 15th inst., began on the 25th of July. In spite of this she made the journey from Geneva to Elfenau, arranged everything there, received visits, &c. Uncle Leopold and Mama-Aunt have been greatly cut up by the news.'

The illness of the Duchess, an illness involving great suffering, borne with admirable courage, proved to be deeply seated; and, when the Prince visited Gotha a few weeks afterwards, it was to see her laid in her grave.

## CHAPTER CV.

THE 28th of August had been reached before Parliament was prorogued. The Session was not only of unusual length, but the sittings had been long and late. Much time had been lost in the protracted debates upon the abortive Reform Bill. The lengthened and frequent discussions on foreign politics had also retarded the progress of the necessary business, which had to be got through before the national Council could be dismissed for its holiday. Late as the Session must in any case have been, it was made later by a cause to which Lord Palmerston makes humorous allusion in writing to the Queen on the 13th of August:—

'Members,' he wrote, 'are leaving town, but the tiresome ones, who have no occupation of their own, and no chance of seeing their names in the newspaper when Parliament is up, remain to obstruct and delay by talking. The Speaker, who has not been quite well, grows as impatient as any official who has hired a grousing moor and cannot get to it, and a few nights ago, when a tiresome orator got up to speak just as an end to the debate had been expected, the Speaker cried "Oh, oh!" in chorus with the rest of the House.'

But talking, as a means of obstruction to business, had not, as in more recent times, been reduced to a science. The patience of weary legislators and still wearier officials had no doubt had a rather heavier burden than ordinary to bear; but business was never brought to a standstill, nor respect for the very constitution of the Assembly shaken. The

debates in both Houses had upon the whole been worthy of the high reputation which each had inherited, and the Statute Book was enriched by several valuable measures of legal and fiscal reform.

All eyes were directed upon Italy, where events of the deepest interest were passing with startling rapidity. Garibaldi had thrown down a challenge to the Neapolitan Government by a proclamation, on the 6th of August, of his intention to accomplish for the Neapolitan States what he had already accomplished for Sicily. It struck panic to the heart of Francis II. and his advisers; for they saw with dismay, that not only was the announcement everywhere hailed with delight, but that neither the army nor the fleet could be relied on to make a stand against the invader. That invader's forces were so scanty, so wanting in experience and in discipline, so deficient in all the resources for a campaign, that they could have made no way against a regular army well led, and loyal to its colours. But this element of loyalty was wanting, and it soon became apparent that the liberator's work was in effect done for him in advance, by the total alienation from the Sovereign of both the army and the nation.

The first sign of this was shown in the ease with which Garibaldi was able, on the 19th of August, to effect a disembarkation on the mainland at Melito with a force of 4,000 men. Here he was joined by a small body of his volunteers, who had crossed the Straits of Messina some days before, and had been joined by about 1,500 Calabrians.[1] The next

[1] A few days before the descent of Garibaldi upon Calabria, it was reported to the French Government by an eye-witness, who could be relied on, that the insurgent forces amounted to only 27,000 men, of whom 13,000 were Italians, 7,000 Sicilians, while the remainder consisted of English, French, Poles, Hungarians, and Russians. The Sicilians were deserting in large numbers, partly because their pay was in arrear, and partly because they were disposed to leave their brethren of Southern Italy to fight their own battles.

day he marched along the coast to Reggio, which was occupied by a large body of Neapolitan troops, the great body of whom retreated before his advance almost without resistance, and took refuge at San Giovanni. In less than two hours after the first exchange of shots, they had evacuated the town, and the Fort of Reggio alone was left in the hands of those who remained. Meanwhile, Garibaldi's forces had been greatly increased by the landing of General Cosenz with large bodies of his followers, who had crossed the Straits and landed near Reggio in the face of a feeble and badly directed fire from some Neapolitan war steamers. The attack was now directed upon the Fort of Reggio. After a short fire, in which the officer in command of the fort was mortally wounded, it surrendered, leaving in the hands of the invaders 500 stands of arms, many guns, and much valuable ammunition and other supplies. Garibaldi then turned his attention to the Royal troops, who had retreated upon San Giovanni, and arranged his advance so skilfully, that they found themselves surrounded. Feeling confident they would surrender, Garibaldi forbade his men to fire. Presently a flag of truce was sent from the Royal lines, and they raised the cry, '*Viva Garibaldi! Viva l'Italia!*' Upon this, Garibaldi himself descended among the King's troops, when he was almost torn to pieces in the enthusiasm with which they greeted him. Their numbers were about 2,000, and when they were told they might go to their homes, they laid down their arms, and joyfully availed themselves of the permission.

What happened at Reggio and San Giovanni was the prelude to many similar defections. Regiment after regiment in other parts of the country broke out into open revolt, and declared for Garibaldi and Victor Emmanuel, whilst others joined the insurgents, whom they had been sent to quell. It was obvious that the doom long foreseen, which the Bourbon

dynasty had provoked, was now close at hand. The King's uncle, the Count of Syracuse, on the 24th of August, wrote to him, urging him to abdicate, and so avert the calamity of civil war. Heedless of this appeal, the King lingered on in Naples, while every day brought news that his army was dwindling away and that Garibaldi was advancing unresisted to the capital. At length, his Ministry having resigned, no others being found to accept their places, he embarked, on the 6th of September, for the fortress of Gaëta, where he still hoped to rally sufficient forces to maintain his kingdom. Two days afterwards, Garibaldi entered Naples by railway from Salerno, and was hailed by its inhabitants with the wildest demonstrations of delight.

Meanwhile, Cavour had not been idle. He had for some time seen that nothing could arrest the fall of Francis II., and that he must grapple, and that swiftly, with the problem which this contingency presented. Was the revolution to be left in the hands of Garibaldi and his followers, at the hazard of the anarchy and confusion which would to a certainty ensue, or was the principle of Italian unity to be protected by the interposition of Sardinia, as the only power by whom it could hope to be consolidated? The state of chaos into which, under the dictatorship of Garibaldi, the administration of affairs in Sicily had fallen, was a warning of what might be expected to follow, should he succeed at Naples; but a still greater danger might result from that success, should Garibaldi be emboldened by it to march upon Rome, and so come into collision with France, or to dash himself against the strongholds of the Quadrilateral, and give Austria the excuse she would have welcomed, for seeking to wrest from Victor Emmanuel the provinces which he had already secured.

Cavour would have been well pleased, had Naples herself taken the initiative in throwing off the Bourbon yoke and in

turning to Sardinia for help; nor can it be doubted that his agents were secretly at work with this view. But the moment Garibaldi established himself at Reggio, and his entry into Naples grew to be a question of days, prompt action became necessary to prevent his coming triumph there from being used as the first step to a series of enterprises against Rome and Austria, which would all but certainly have resulted in disaster to the national cause. Garibaldi, fired by his ruling idea of sweeping Papal and Austrian power and influence from the Italian Continent, would not, he well knew, be held back in his career by those considerations of which, as a statesman, Cavour could estimate the importance. If he were to be restrained, it would only be by finding himself in a position that made it impossible for him to move upon Rome, without coming into collision with the forces of Victor Emmanuel.[2] The crisis was a desperate one, and Cavour had to make his choice between throwing aside the restraints of international law, and forcibly occupying the Roman States, or of letting things drift with all the hazards already indicated.

He took the former course, and seized, as the pretext for his action, the conduct of the Papal Government, in drawing together, as it had been for some time doing, an irregular mercenary force, with the avowed motive of recovering the territories which it had already lost, and holding in control the disaffected inhabitants of the other Roman States. This force had been placed under the command of General Lamoricière, and was likely soon to be called into action;

[2] Count Cavour's anticipations were fully realised. On the 10th of September Garibaldi told our Ambassador, Mr. Henry Elliot, that he intended to push on to Rome, and when that city was in his hands, to offer the Crown of an United Italy to King Victor Emmanuel, upon whom would then devolve the task of the liberation of Venetia. He spoke of the Emperor of the French with contempt and defiance.—(*Despatch, 10th September*, 1860: *Mr. Elliot to Lord John Russell.*) The wiser head and heart of Count Cavour never forgot how much Italy owed to the Emperor and to France.

Umbria and the Marches having been for some time on the point of insurrection, with the avowed object of annexing themselves to the kingdom of Victor Emmanuel. In coming to the assistance of these provinces, Cavour secured himself against the imputation of acting adversely to the great aim of national liberation. On the contrary, he kept before the Italian people the claims of his Sovereign, which ran some risk of being overshadowed by the brilliant successes of Garibaldi. Neither could Garibaldi nor his friends, who refused to recognise any impediments to the accomplishment of their desires, take exception to a measure by which that cause was advanced, although by it they were prevented from making the advance upon Rome, on which their hearts were resolutely set, but which would have had the immediate effect of calling France into the field as their opponent.

Everything was ready for the outbreak of revolt in Umbria and the Marches, and for sending efficient help to the insurgents by land and sea, when, on the 7th of September, Cavour sent to Cardinal Antonelli an ultimatum, calling for the immediate disarmament of the mercenary forces levied by the Pope. In this document their existence was stated to be a continual menace to the peace of Italy, and the Papal Government was bluntly told that, unless its forces were at once disbanded, Sardinia would feel herself justified in preventing any movement they might make for the purpose of repressing the manifestations of national feeling in Umbria and the Marches. Cavour must have been profoundly conscious how wholly indefensible were the grounds on which this demand was rested. Twenty-four hours only were allowed for an answer. That the answer would be a peremptory refusal he must have anticipated; and, indeed, the demand itself was merely a compliance in form with the proceeding which usage and courtesy have established as the preliminary to a declaration of war. Com-

pliance with any admissible demand would not have served his purpose. He had, however, to justify that purpose before Europe; and he did so, in a Circular addressed a few days afterwards (12th September) to the diplomatic agents of Sardinia, resting the defence of his proceedings on the broad and much more defensible plea of necessity in the interests of the new Sardinian Kingdom and of the welfare of the peninsula. To overthrow the resistance of the Papal forces might be no formidable task; but to suspend the action of the various European Powers was an object so important and so difficult, that Cavour threw into this document all his powers of argument and subtlety of suggestion.

It dealt with the whole Italian question. While frankly avowing that, so long as the question of Venetia remained unsolved, Europe could enjoy no solid and sincere peace, it proclaimed the intention of the Sardinian Government not to meddle with that question for the present, but to let time and circumstance bring about its solution. It touched upon the misdeeds which had brought the Neapolitan dynasty to ruin by a 'prodigious revolution that had filled Europe with astonishment, by the almost providential manner in which it had been accomplished, and excited its admiration for the illustrious warrior whose glorious exploits recall all that poetry and history can relate.' It dwelt upon the advantage to Europe and to the interests of order, which, by the establishment of an Italian kindom, would rob 'revolutionary passions of a theatre, where previously most insane enterprises had chances, if not of success, at least of exciting the sympathies of all generously minded men.' The only barrier to this result, it urged, was the separation of the north and south of the peninsula by provinces which were in a deplorable state. To repress all participation in the great national movement, the Papal Government had not only made an unjustifiable use of the spiritual power, but had formed for

the purpose an army, 'consisting almost exclusively of strangers, not only to the Roman States, but to the whole of Italy.' Sympathising with their oppressed countrymen, the Italians of other States were bent upon putting an end to this state of things by force and violent measures. 'If the Government of Sardinia remained passive amid this universal emotion, it would place itself in opposition to the nation. The generous outburst which the events of Naples and of Sicily had produced in the masses, would degenerate at once into anarchy and disorder. Were he to suffer this, the King would be wanting in his duties towards the Italians and towards Europe. In fulfilment of his obligation to prevent the national movement from so degenerating, he had addressed his summons to the court of Rome to disband its mercenaries, and, on this being refused, had ordered his troops to enter Umbria and the Marches, to re-establish order there, and to leave the populations a free field for the manifestation of their sentiments.'

The Circular concluded with a declaration that Rome and the territory round it should be scrupulously respected, and a professed confidence 'that the spectacle of the unanimity of the patriotic sentiments which had burst forth throughout the whole of Italy, would remind the Sovereign Pontiff that he had some years before been the sublime inspirer of this great national movement.'

Cavour had not taken this bold step without giving the Emperor of the French some hint of his intentions through Farini, the Sardinian Minister, and General Cialdini, who had gone for the purpose to Chambéry, where the Emperor happened to be. The Emperor avoided committing himself to any approval of the course proposed to be pursued. Whatever Sardinia should do, must be done at her own risk, and upon her own conviction of what was essential for her own safety and that of Italy. This, however, was enough

for Cavour, who was skilled in interpreting the reserves and hesitations of the Emperor's mind. Two facts at least were certain. The Emperor was committed to the view that the Pope's legitimate authority would not suffer by the loss of Umbria and the Marches, and he had never approved of the Pope's attempt to get up the army which it was Cavour's object to scatter to the winds. So long as the safety of Rome, as a residence for the Sovereign Pontiff, remained inviolate, the neutrality of the Emperor might consequently be relied upon.

England was pledged to leave Italy to work out her own liberation, and was not likely to judge too narrowly the irregularity of Sardinia's proceedings in accomplishing an object of manifest importance, which there were no apparent means of accomplishing in any other way. Lord Palmerston's Government had only two fears: one, that Victor Emmanuel might buy the support of France by the cession to her of the island of Sardinia; the other, that he might join with Garibaldi in invading Venetia. On both points Cavour hastened to give, through Sir James Hudson, the strongest assurances that Garibaldi would not be suffered to attack Venetia, and that, if that attack were ever made, it would be by an Italian army, and when events were ripe for the movement. Never, moreover, he added, would he be accessory to bringing the French again into Italy, and so to making his country the slave of France. As for the surrender of Sardinia to France, it was a proposal which no Italian dared to entertain.

The other European Powers could not but regard with disfavour the arguments of Count Cavour's Circular, based as they were on the right of the people to depose their hereditary sovereign, and to choose for themselves by whom they should be governed. But in what direction could they move to stay the course of events in Italy? One of two results

was by this time inevitable—the triumph of the extreme revolutionary party, with the consequent dangers to Italy and to Europe, or the establishment of orderly government under a monarch whose interests would be identical with their own in arresting the spread of revolutionary doctrines. If success attended the movement of the Sardinian army, it could scarcely be doubtful which of these alternatives would be most acceptable to the courts of St. Petersburg and Berlin..

Almost before Count Cavour's Circular reached them, at any rate before remonstrance was possible, Victor Emmanuel's army was in full possession of the Papal States. By the 10th of September the army had been concentrated by General Fanti, their commander-in-chief, upon the frontiers. General Cialdini held the command of the divisions destined for the Marches, and General Della Rocca of those which were to operate in Umbria. On the morning of the 12th the fortress of Pesaro fell, after being cannonaded by Cialdini during the night, and the garrison of 1,200 men were taken prisoners. Fano and Urbino were next taken by assault. In the meantime General Della Rocca had invested Perugia, which, after a few shots from the Piedmontese batteries, surrendered with its garrison of 1,700 men. The same fate befel Foligno and Spoleto. Both generals then directed their forces to the pursuit of Lamoricière, who, with an army of between eight and nine thousand men, had fallen back upon Loretto, with the intention of throwing himself into the citadel of Ancona. They succeeded in hemming him in on all sides, and forced him to give battle on the 18th. After an obstinate struggle, during which a body of about 4,000 men made a sortie from the fortress of Ancona, and was repulsed, General Lamoricière, finding further resistance useless, left the field, followed by a few horsemen, and succeeded in reaching the fortress. Next day, all that were left of his army laid down their arms, and

not a soldier of the entire Papal force remained in Umbria and the Marches beyond the few who were shut up in Ancona. That place was immediately invested, and bombarded both by sea and land. On the 28th of the month it surrendered, the garrison becoming prisoners of war. In this brief campaign the Papal government lost nearly all its war material, while from 17,000 to 18,000 of their troops, with all their generals, were made prisoners of war. The stroke devised by Count Cavour, as the first move towards securing Central and Southern Italy as part of one great Italian kingdom, had been conclusive as it was swift.

The sympathies of the Prince, it has been seen, were entirely in favour of the establishment of Constitutional Government in Italy. But his moral sense and passion for political honesty were frequently revolted by the means resorted to for the advancement of this object. He was prepared to accept the results; but would have been better pleased to see them accomplished by means less tortuous and indirect. Ever since the compact of Plombières the Prince appears to have entertained an invincible distrust of Cavour. Nor was this diminished by what he knew of the covert aid,—unworthy, as the Prince considered it, of the representative of a Constitutional sovereign,—lent by the Sardinian Minister to the operations of Garibaldi in the descent both upon Sicily and the mainland, as well as of the countenance which he was lending at this very time to the intrigues of plotters of insurrection in Hungary and upon the Danube. This feeling seems in some degree to have prevented the Prince from making full allowance for the difficulties with which Cavour had to contend in accomplishing his great task. It would in all probability have been altered by the fuller knowledge of the secret history of the time, which has since become available; but it perceptibly colours the views upon the last phase of Italian history ex-

pressed in the following letter by the Prince to Baron Stockmar :—

'Time flies, and we have once more reached the end of our Scottish *séjour*. To-morrow we leave beautiful Balmoral, and turn southwards. We shall stay two days in Edinburgh, that we may see a little of Mama, and travel over-night to Osborne, where, if we leave Edinburgh about seven in the evening, we shall be next morning at breakfast about nine.

'We have not been favoured here by the weather, and, in spite of unremitting and most arduous exertions, I have had little luck in my deer-stalking. I have not got one single fine stag, and only brought down thirteen in all.

'To everybody's amazement, notwithstanding the frightfully bad summer, in which we have scarcely once seen the sun, our harvest has turned out by no means badly—that is, in England; here it has not yet begun. You may imagine my delight at the prospect of my visit to Coburg! Do keep well enough to enable us to enjoy your society; it is quite an age since I heard from you.

'In politics the Italian drama is making progress, and I have not one moment's doubt that the attack on Venice will be made in the spring. Cavour is well aware that it would not be viewed with favour in Europe at the present moment, but he hopes by the spring to have stirred up the revolutionary spirit sufficiently, and the Austrians are sure by that time to have practised some maladroit severities towards the Venetians, which will enlist general sympathy in favour of the Italian movement.

'Here joy at the fall of the Neapolitan dynasty is universal. Sardinia gives out that she will be compelled to incorporate the kingdom, and to send troops into the Roman States, in order to prevent anarchy, as Garibaldi is surrounded by Mazzinians. . . .

'From Canada we have the best possible accounts. Bertie is generally pronounced "the most perfect production of nature."

'Balmoral, 14th September, 1860.'

On the 18th the Court reached Osborne, where it remained until the 21st, when the Queen and Prince returned to London, previous to embarking for their visit to Coburg. Before leaving Osborne the Prince wrote (21st September) to his daughter at Berlin: 'I must and will express my delight, that I shall soon have no more occasion to write, and can press you to my heart. . . . We start in a few hours for London, and to-morrow evening embark on board the yacht at Gravesend, as certain people did on a certain occasion. This time, however, we shall be able to dispense with tears and snowdrift.'

Meanwhile the news had reached England of the total defeat of Lamoricière, and of the siege of Ancona. Tidings had also been received of the state of confusion into which things were rapidly falling at Naples under the dictatorship of Garibaldi. Cavour had not acted one moment too soon. The Dictator had proclaimed his intention not to sheathe his sword until Rome and Venice were in his hands. Not till then, either, would he sanction the annexation to Sardinia of Sicily or of any part of the Neapolitan kingdom. Carried away by the intoxication of success, and by his animosity to Cavour, he had even sent one of his most trusted friends, who reached Turin on the 14th of September, to demand from the King the instant dismissal of Cavour and Farini. Thus, at a crisis which demanded the highest wisdom of experienced statesmen to consolidate the victories which had already been achieved for the cause of Italian unity, Garibaldi sought to wrest the helm from the hands of the only men who were qualified to hold it, and who had the knowledge and skill to

avoid the rocks and quicksands on which the Dictator and his friends would, but for them, have wrecked themselves and their cause. Happily the troops of Francis II. were able to hold Garibaldi for a time in check upon the Volturno; so that before he could attempt to carry into effect his purpose of marching upon Rome, the conquest of Umbria and the Marches was complete, and any attempt of this kind was no longer possible. Cavour had also put himself in a commanding position by summoning the chambers for the 2nd of October to consider the question, whether the King's government should be authorised to accept the annexation of the revolted Papal territories and the Kingdom of the Two Sicilies, thus in effect appealing to the Italian nation to decide between himself and Garibaldi.

## CHAPTER CVI.

On the afternoon of the 22nd of September, the Queen and Prince, and the Princess Alice, left Buckingham Palace for Gravesend, attended by Lady Churchill, Miss Bulteel, General Grey, Sir Charles Phipps, and Colonel Ponsonby. They were joined at the railway station by Lord John Russell and Dr. Baly, who were to accompany them abroad. 'At half-past five,' says the Queen's Journal, on which we are enabled to draw for the narrative of the journey, 'we embarked on board the *Victoria and Albert*. Many people there. A number of volunteer cadets, pretty little boys, nicely set up, lined the way to the vessel. We started almost immediately, and dropped anchor at the Nore about a quarter to seven,' where the yacht remained for the night.

Weighing anchor next morning at five, the passage across was made in a perfectly smooth sea. The scenery of the Scheldt, with its great stretches of level land, broken only by straight rows of trees, was felt to be 'really too hideous' after the Highlands so lately left behind. 'But I am so thankful for the admirable passage, the best, I think, we have ever had to Antwerp, that I can complain of nothing, and feel full of gratitude to be so far on our journey! May the rest be equally prosperous!' By six P. M. Antwerp was reached. The night was passed on board the yacht, and next morning, by half-past seven, King Leopold, with his sons and daughter-in-law, Marie (Duchess of Brabant), came on board, and ac-

companied their Royal visitors to the station, travelling with them as far as Verviers.

'We were much grieved to hear in the railway carriage from Philippe [Count of Flanders], who had received a telegram from Ernest [the Prince's brother], that poor Mama Marie [Dowager Duchess of Coburg] was so ill that they were expecting her death, and wished us to put off our journey for a day. Telegraphed back, that this was impossible, and that we hoped to hear again at Frankfort, and trusted this was merely a temporary alarm. Alas! at Verviers, we received a sad, sad telegram, announcing that my poor Mama-in-law had died at five this morning! How sad! How distressing! We knew that she could live but a short time, but for the moment she had been much better. Albert had had a letter on Saturday dictated by herself, rejoicing to see us. What a sad arrival for us!'

At Aix-la-Chapelle the Royal travellers were met by the Prince Regent of Prussia and his brother, Prince Charles, who accompanied them for a short distance. From Cologne the journey was made to Mayence by the railway, which had been constructed from Bonn along the left bank of the Rhine since the Queen's last visit to Germany in 1858. 'You see from the railway admirably all the beautiful parts upon the river, and pass sometimes through, sometimes close behind the picturesque little towns and villages on the Rhine. We saw and admired the Drachenfels, Königswinter (where Bertie spent six months in 1857) decked out with flags . . . the numerous beautiful castles and vine-clad hills . . . The mountains are very pretty, and were beautifully lit up, but they are not our dear hills, and the vineyards are stiff. . . .

'At about seven we reached Frankfort, where, to our regret, we were received by a guard of honour and a band. The Princess of Prussia, Fritz, and Louise of Baden were there, having come on purpose to meet us.' Arrived at the

Hôtel d'Angleterre, 'the same where we were fifteen years ago, we found sentries placed on the staircase, whom we dispensed with. . . . After dinner came Prince George of Saxony, who brought me a kind letter from the King of Saxony, inviting us to come to Dresden, an invitation which naturally we cannot accept. We remained some little time together, and then went to our rooms. . . . This sad, sad news lay like a load upon our otherwise bright and happy hearts.'

Next morning at nine the journey was resumed by way of Wilhelmsbad and Aschaffenburg. The scenery of the Valley of the Main, its many pretty villages, with their picturesque roofs, church spires, relieved against the trees by which they are in most cases surrounded, are duly noted. 'The country is charming: fields and valleys, vineyards, with crucifixes and little picturesque chapels in the vineyards and along the roads; and women working in the fields, with handkerchiefs over their heads, reminding me so much of the Highland women. They carry baskets on their backs, with immense loads of fruit, &c. reaching over their heads. The carts drawn by oxen, none by horses.' Through Schweinfurt and Bamberg the Royal travellers reached Lichtenfels, where they left the main line for the Thuringian railway, which carried them through the country, full of quiet beauty, which lies between Lichtenfels and Coburg.

'I felt so agitated as we approached nearer and nearer, and Albert recognised each spot. At last we caught the first glimpse of the Festung, then of the town, with the cheerful and lovely country round, the fine evening lighting it all up so beautifully. At five we were at the station. Of course all was private and quiet; Ernest [Duke of Coburg] and Fritz [Prince Frederick William] standing there in very deep mourning. Many people out, but they showed such proper feeling—all quiet, no demonstrations of joy, though many

kind faces. Felt so moved as we drove up to the door of the Palace under the archway. Here stood, in painful contrast to fifteen years ago, when so many dear ones, in the brightest gala attire, received us at the door (*see* vol. i. *ante* p. 285), Alexandrine [Duchess of Coburg] and Vicky, in the deepest German mourning, long black veils with a point, surrounded by the ladies and gentlemen! A tender embrace, and then we walked up the staircase. . . . Could hardly speak, I felt so moved, and quite trembled. We went at once through the large rooms to ours, where my dear Mama used to live. . . . The view from them is on the Festung and the Platz, which is now so pretty, with Papa's [the late Duke of Coburg's] statue, surrounded by a garden. One of the sitting-room windows also looks up one of the very picturesque narrow streets of the town, with high gabled red-roofed houses, and commands a glimpse into the market-place.

'We remained together for some little time, and then our darling grandchild was brought. Such a little love! He came walking in at Mrs. Hobbs's [his nurse's] hand, in a little white dress with black bows, and was so good. He is a fine, fat child, with a beautiful white soft skin, very fine shoulders and limbs, and a very dear face, like Vicky and Fritz, and also Louise of Baden. He has Fritz's eyes and Vicky's mouth, and very fair curly hair. We felt so happy to see him at last!'

The next day (26th September) was spent very quietly. In the morning the Hofgarten was visited. It is situated in front of the Palace, is beautifully laid out, and is open to the public. 'The view from it of the town and country, and also of the Festung, is lovely. We visited the pretty Mausoleum of our grand-parents, plucked a flower for dear Mama, and walked about the garden, the green-house, and flower-garden. . . . The people are very civil and kindly, but do not follow us about at all. The peasants so well behaved and friendly,

the women with coloured hankerchiefs round their heads, and the little girls, so nice, and with their hair plaited round the head, and generally barefoot. The swaddled babies, on cushions, with their trim little caps, are so picturesque too.

'On coming home, there came dear old Stockmar, who remained some time, looking quite himself, though a little weak.' The Prince says, in his Diary, that he found him showing signs of age, but looking well. In the afternoon, after visiting the Festung, the Royal party drove across the Bausenberg, which commands a fine view over the surrounding country, on to Oeslau, where formerly were fine gardens. 'Here we got out and walked across the fields, along a pretty little stream, to the beloved Rosenau. Albert at first intended not to go up there, but when we were near it, we could not resist. So we walked up to it and round it. Everything just as it was—the pretty garden, the lovely view. We only went into the Marmorsaal [Marble Hall], where we always used to dine, and then down to the Schweizerei [Swiss Farm]. I remembered all so well, and it is all so lovely. Those fine meadows, valleys, hills, and woods, and everywhere those very picturesque little farms and villages with red roofs and wooden beams; the carts always drawn by oxen; the peasant women working in the fields, with their coloured handkerchiefs and aprons, fearfully laden with those heavy baskets, full of fruit, potatoes, hay, or grass, bent quite double with their work, and early growing very old. Home near six. Found many letters from the children. Dear Lenchen [the Princess Helena] writes charmingly. . . . At a quarter to eleven our three husbands (alas!) left us to go to Gotha, where the sad ceremony (the funeral of the Dowager Duchess of Coburg) was to be at *seven* next morning.

'*September* 27.—Was wakened at six by the "Currenden Schüler" (boys belonging to a school) singing as they passed

under the window "*Ein' feste Burg ist unser Gott.*" It was beautiful and touching, as it came nearer and then died away. Dear little William came to me as he does every morning. He is such a darling, so intelligent. . . . We went at ten to the *Schloss-Kirche* (in the Palace), a fine large and richly-decorated chapel like some of those old chapels in England. We went in veils with the points on the forehead. Every one in the church in mourning. They were singing when we went in, and so beautifully, it quite upset us all. The service was very like the Scotch, only more form; but we did not stand up for the prayers, which I believe we ought to have done. They sang two hymns, consecutively, at two different times. One, to the tune "O Jerusalem!" was exquisite. The Superintendent Meyer prayed and preached upon the death of my poor Mama-in-law; but what he said did not move me greatly. It was too general, too much a mere eulogy. . . . Albert back at three. The sad ceremony had gone off well. Ernest Würtemberg, who was with the Duchess [his sister] during the last sad day, said her sufferings had been fearful. . . . Her release is merciful. Still it would have given her so much pleasure to have seen us, and she longed so for it. Albert felt deeply the whole ceremony.'

On his return to Coburg, the Prince wrote the letter to the Duchess of Kent, from which we extract the following passages:—

'I will give you news of myself under my own hand, although Victoria and Alice will have written to you already. Coburg is prettier than ever, and the weather hitherto has been unusually propitious. Yesterday we visited Ketschendorf, which remains wholly intact, as if good Grandmama might step in at any moment. The Kalenberg and the Festung have become exceptionally beautiful.

'Vicky and Fritz are well, and your great-grandson is a very pretty, clever child—a compound of both parents, just as it should be. Stockmar has aged, and complains terribly of weakness, but is fresh in spirit, and as warm in heart as ever. . . .

'I went to Gotha for the sad ceremony, which took place at the Palace yesterday about seven in the morning. . . . Ah! poor Mama must have had an infinite deal of suffering! . . . Gotha was very sad under the circumstances.

'Coburg, 28th September, 1860.'

To resume Her Majesty's narrative. In the afternoon 'we walked with Ernest, Alexandrine, and our children by the Glockenberg (just above the Palace) to the Mausoleum or Erbbegräbniss, which is in the churchyard—such a pretty one, in such a pretty position. Already there are many graves, covered with wreaths and flowers. We went into the beautiful Mausoleum, which has been erected by the whole family, after Albert's and Ernest's designs, carried out by the architect Eberhardt. It is in the Italian style; beautiful inside, with a marble floor and marble altar in the Chapel. There are side-galleries, in which the sarcophagi are placed; dear Papa's and Albert's own Mother's are already there; but the coffins have not been placed in them. It is beautiful, and so cheerful. We remained some time here, Albert and Ernest talking over various points, then walked through the remainder of the churchyard, where all the little children are buried,—the poor little graves covered with flowers—and where the private vaults are, with some small mausoleums, including that of the Stockmar family,—then down and round Ketschendorf *chaussée*, and the Alexandrinen-Strasse, and home by the Philosophen-Weg. A splendid evening; the colours of the foliage, now turning most brilliant,—the

shadows deep-blue, and the outlines of that peculiar sharpness, which you never see in England. . . .

'Before dinner, I received Count Alexander Mensdorff (our first-cousin) *en forme*, with Lord John Russell, to present a letter from the Emperor of Austria.'

The afternoon of the next day was devoted to a drive to the family villa, Ketschendorf. 'We drove out by the "Ketschenthur" and "*Anger*" (a large meadow), the "Ketschenbrücke" and "Neuer Weg," along the railway to the "*Steinerne Tisch*" (a stone table under some trees, where Gustavus Adolphus is supposed to have rested), up a hill, past the picturesque village of Mahren, where we got out and walked along a pretty lane to the Finckenau—a very pretty farm, belonging to the family of Erfa, where there were peasants in their picturesque dresses, carts with oxen, &c. We met a child carrying a basket full of plums (*Zwetschen*), who refused money for two we took. The trees along the road are laden with them, yet we cannot get them to grow in England. The lights were again quite wonderful: such clearness, such brilliancy of colours; and the country is so lovely, the peasantry so picturesque, I should like to draw all day long.

'We walked through the wood and little village to Ketschendorf. We went all over the dear old house, where everything has remained as in our beloved grandmother's time—all the pictures of the family, and drawings by her grandchildren, including one by me! I think so much of dear Mama, when I visit all these loved places. Here, in 1845, on the day of our arrival, we met dearest Uncle Leopold and Louise (*ante*, vol. i. p. 284), who entered the carriage with us. Home at six. The evenings are damp here, which comes from the clay soil, and the valley being surrounded by hills.

'*Saturday, September* 29.—Again such a beautiful day. I feel so happy to be here, to visit all these loved places

again, and to see my dearest Albert so happy! Market-day again—a gay scene, of which we got a glimpse from our windows—so many of the peasants in their best dresses coming into the town. . . . Very bad weather we hear at Osborne—very beautiful at dear Balmoral. A fortnight to-day we left it. It seems so far off!

'At a quarter to one we drove in four carriages with our dear relations and children, and also Lady Churchill, the Countess Brühl (Vicky's lady), and Lord John Russell, to the Rosenau. Our English people are enchanted with everything, with the beauty of the country, and of the palaces, the quiet and simplicity of the people, &c., and certainly nowhere could you see a more charming, cheerful country, with such pretty valleys, and so much fine distant scenery, as here. We got out at the bottom of the hill, and walked about the charming grounds, which I knew so well, and then went into the dear old house, and over all our dear rooms, and the salons, all which are quite unaltered. There was the room painted by dear Mama, &c. . . . After luncheon Vicky and I sat in front of the *Marmorsaal*, drawing the beautiful view of the Festung and Oeslau, the air like a warm summer's day, and listening to the tinkling of the cow bells.'

The next day (30th September) was Sunday, and the Royal party went at ten o'clock to the Moritz-Kirche. 'The General-Superintendent Meyer received us at the door, and said a few kind words. The service was just the same as at the Schloss-Kirche—very fine chorale, and a very pretty cantata by Ernest (the Duke of Coburg). Dr. Meyer preached a splendid sermon like one of our fine Scotch sermons, very powerful, full of true Protestant feeling, on the independence of our true Protestant faith. The text was from St. John. Home by a quarter to twelve. Took a short turn in the Hofgarten with our children, Ernest and Alexandrine, and

Alexander (Count Mensdorff), Albert having much to do at home. Then saw our dear good excellent Stockmar, who stayed nearly three-quarters of an hour, and was quite his dear old self.' In the afternoon a visit was paid to the Festung (*ante*, vol. i. p. 286), and a fine sky made the charming view, which is to be seen from its ramparts, of the town of Coburg nestled at its base, and away towards the Bohemian frontier, and the forest of Thuringia, more than usually beautiful.

The next day was to be an eventful one, for in it the Prince's life was in serious danger. Her Majesty's Journal for the day opens thus:—

['*Oct.* 1.—Before proceeding, I must thank God for having preserved my adored one! I tremble now on thinking of it. . . . The escape is very wonderful, *most merciful!* God is indeed most gracious.']

The Prince went in the morning to the Kalenberg to shoot, the Queen remaining at Coburg. 'Busy writing. Had received very interesting accounts from Affie from the Cape (from the 24th of July to the 6th of August), where he had met with a most gratifying reception, and had to make an extempore speech at the dinner. Also from Bertie (11th September) and from the Duke of Newcastle (who has behaved so admirably) from Toronto, where everything had gone off well.'

Later in the day the Queen went to the Kalenberg, with the two Princesses and the Duchess of Coburg. They remained there, intending to follow the Prince, who was called away to Coburg by business early in the afternoon. He was alone in an open carriage with four horses, driven from the box. When about three miles from the château the horses took fright, became uncontrollable, and dashed off at full gallop. About a mile from Coburg the road crosses the

railway on a level. The bar to prevent carriages crossing the line was drawn across the road, and a waggon standing on the road just outside the bar. The Prince, seeing this, and that a concussion was inevitable, jumped from the carriage. Happily, although somewhat bruised, and cut across the nose, and on the hands, arms, and knee, he was not stunned, and was even able to go to the assistance of the coachman, who had been seriously hurt. He had stuck by the carriage till it crashed against the railway bar and was upset. One of the horses was killed; the others, who had broken away from the carriage, rushed on to Coburg, and were there seen by Colonel Ponsonby, the Prince's equerry, who immediately procured a carriage and drove to the scene of the accident, along with Dr. Baly and Dr. Carl Florschütz, the medical attendant of the Duke of Coburg. The Prince insisted on the doctors directing all their attention to the coachman, and at once sent on Colonel Ponsonby to inform the Queen of what had happened. The rest will best be told in Her Majesty's words:—

'Our drawings (the distant view of Coburg, which is beautiful) being finished, we ladies walked down (the gentlemen were gone elsewhere) through the *Hahn* to the Parkthor, going along merrily, and much amused by a pretty peasant woman, who told Vicky how dirty her dress was getting by trailing on the ground, and advising her to take it up, and expecting our carriages to overtake us, when we met a two-seated carriage, with Colonel Ponsonby in it, who said Albert had sent him to say there had been an accident to the carriage, but that Albert was not hurt, having only scratched his nose; that Dr. Baly happened to meet him, and said it was of no consequence. This prevented my being startled or *much* frightened. That came later, when Colonel Ponsonby explained that the horses had run away, and that Albert had jumped out!

'Drove back in this carriage with Alice, Colonel Ponsonby sitting on the box beside the coachman. We were told by an excited *Postbeamter* not to go where the carriage still was, one of the horses being seriously hurt as well as the coachman, and then drove by the 'Pappel-Allee' and the Barracks home. I went at once to my dearest Albert's rooms, and found him lying quietly on Löhlein's [his valet's] bed, with lint compress on his nose, mouth, and chin, and poor good old Stockmar (who, I feared, would be terribly alarmed) standing by him, and also Dr. Baly. He was quite cheerful, and talking, and giving an account of this fearful accident, and, as it proved, merciful and providential escape. Dr. Baly said Albert had not been the least stunned, that there was no injury, and the features would not suffer. Oh God! What did I not feel! I could only, and do only, allow the feelings of gratitude, not those of horror at what might have happened, to fill my mind. . . . Every one in such distress and excitement, and such anxiety in Coburg, and, at first, anxiety. I sent off many telegrams to England, &c., fearing wrong messages.'

'*Tuesday, October* 2.—Full of gratitude and relief on waking.' The Prince was already much better, and rose at seven. When the Queen went down to his room, she 'found him dressed and reading. He was not to leave his room this day, but he saw many people. After breakfast we all came down and found good Stockmar there. He had been half distracted all night, thinking of what might have happened.' After speaking of a walk through Coburg and the suburbs, the Queen writes:—'It is so pleasant; we can walk about here everywhere in the town, and never are followed, though the people know us, and bow very civilly, which is a pleasure I can enjoy nowhere in a town. Albert going on very well. Many despatches and letters; Emperor and Empress of the French inquiring after dear Albert. . . . Still, every day, till

next Monday, from 11 to 12, the Trauerglocken-Geläute (the mourning peal), quite different from our tolling. It is like the bells ringing for church, and sounds very fine.' After dinner all the guests 'were full of inquiries. My heart very full, but would not give way. We (the family) all went down to Albert's room about a quarter-past ten, and remained till 20 minutes to eleven, and Albert was in high spirits, talking away.'

The next day the Prince was so far recovered, that he was allowed to resume his habits and to go out walking. One of his knees had been cut, and he had to walk slowly and without bending it. A visit was paid 'to the Augustenstift, where Albert's and Ernest's beautiful Museum of Natural History and Mineralogy is kept, and in beautiful order. We remained there for an hour. They began it as children, and it is associated with many interesting recollections. How full of interest is all this to me! Left Albert and Alice there, and walked back with Ernest, Alexandrine, Fritz, and Vicky, and took a turn in the Hofgarten. . . . Constant despatches. The Emperor means to protect the Pope. . . . Good news from Bertie from Niagara. . . . Dearest Albert at dinner, of course, as usual. Much conversation with Dr. Freytag' [the celebrated German novelist and historian] 'after dinner.'

Dr. Gustav Freytag was an intimate and friend of Baron Stockmar. The Prince admired his works greatly, and some months afterwards called the attention of the late Earl Stanhope to his *Bilder aus der Deutschen Vergangenheit* ('Pictures from Old Germany') in the following letter:—

'Buckingham Palace, 2nd July, 1861.

'My dear Lord Stanhope,—I take the liberty to send you a recent German publication, which I think will interest you.

Mr. Freytag is the author of the popular German novel *Sollen und Haben*, known in this country as *Debit and Credit;* of the tragedy *The Fabians*, which attracted as much attention as the above novel; and many other works. In this work he has (inspired perhaps by Lord Macaulay's introductory chapter to his history) tried to give pictures of the social, political, and military life of Germany from the sixteenth to the eighteenth century; and the care with which he reproduces interesting and forgotten documents of the time is most meritorious, as he makes the people ofttimes speak instead of giving us his own words; and in this exactly lies the originality and attraction of the book.

'Ever yours truly,

'ALBERT.'

The next morning (4th October) the Queen drove with the Princess Alice 'to good Stockmar's house, not far from the Palace, in the Weber-Strasse. He met us at the door, and took me up to his wife's room. Saw Madame de Stockmar for the first time. She is very clever, and was *zuvorkommend* [affable] and pleasant, and much pleased to see us. She is, like Stockmar, rather plain in her style of dress, nothing on her head, and no grey hair. He showed me his pictures, and took me up to his own sitting-room, where is the picture I gave him.'

The Prince, who continued to recover rapidly, was able to take part the same day in an excursion to the Rosenau, and afterwards to join in a walk to the summit of the Burgsberg, which overlooks the Rosenau and also commands a view of a great expanse of surrounding country. 'We picked many beautiful wild flowers. From here we descended to the pretty ruins of the Lauterburg . . . . and thence through orchards with trees purple with plums, to the picturesque little village of Oberwolfsbach. . . . Home by six; a de-

lightful day. Dear little Wilhelm as usual with me before dinner—a darling child.'

Next morning a visit was paid to the Prince's tutor, Herr Florschütz, 'in his pretty house, in the Palace grounds, which Albert and Ernest had built for him, and which is full of portraits of them, pictures by them, and prints of ourselves and our children.' The rest of the day was spent in receiving the Duke and Duchess of Meiningen, who arrived with their daughter on a visit, and in walks and drives to various places of interest in the town and suburbs.

'*Saturday, October* 6.—A dull and threatening morning, which soon turned to rain. The dear little boy is so intelligent and pretty, so good and affectionate. So much to do every day. . . . The day cleared, and we made a charming expedition. We all started at twenty minutes past twelve, I and Alexandrine, with our daughters, Ernest in front, Albert, Fritz, and the suites following. Sir Charles Phipps and General Grey had gone to Gotha and Reinhardsbrunn.

'We drove by the *Schweizerei*, through Oeslau, to Mönchröthen, a village with an old monastery, most picturesquely situated. We got out at the entrance of the Park, where two of Ernest's Jägers met us. We went on to the Häslich, which quite caused me an emotion, reminding me, as it did, of our beloved Highlands, for there were Scotch firs, and we gathered blaeberries[1] and cranberries, and their little flowers, and the heather' (see *ante*, vol. i. p. 289).

'We walked quietly and noiselessly on, up a small path, into a lovely valley, where a stand was arranged, into which we and the ladies got, and also Albert and Ernest, Fritz, and Lord John Russell, with guns and rifles. The drive of wild

[1] The bilberries or whortleberries of England and the wimberries of North Wales. The blaeberry, growing 'mang the bonny blooming heather,' is often met with in Scottish song.

boars then took place, and was most successful, no less than seven being killed, very fine large ones too. It was very exciting. They are fine wild-looking beasts. Albert shot three (I think more), and each time gave them the mortal wound; Fritz one; and Lord John Russell and Colonel Ponsonby (who was below), one.[2] The gentlemen ran to see their sport, and little *Dachshunde*' [small dogs of great courage and strength of jaw] 'were sent into the woods to bring out any wounded boars. The gentlemen carried spears to kill those which had not fallen at once. Albert was much pleased, no one having killed more than one before. We wished Grant [head-keeper at Balmoral] had been there. . . . According to German custom, we each received a *Bruch*, viz. a small branch of oak and of spruce, to put in our hats. Oak is the *spécialité* of wild boars. . . .

'Home by six. . . . Saw good Stockmar for some time, and found him quite himself. It is so delightful to talk to him. He is so kind, so wise. We talked over very many things, and he inquired after all his old friends, &c. . . . After dinner there was a very good concert of Sacred Music. Many of the Society were invited, including the wives of those belonging to the court, several people from the neighbourhood. They were all assembled in the Concertsaal, where we dine, and Alexandrine presented all the ladies to me. Mlle. Laslö sings very well. She is rather like Grisi. Ernest's Hymn was sung by the *Liedertafel*, accompanied by wind instruments. The Concert was in the handsome Riesensaal. All over by eleven.'

After service next day (Sunday) the Queen and Prince received the Grand Duke and Grand Duchess of Weimar, who

[2] The same day the Prince, in writing to the Duchess of Kent, thus records the prowess of Lord John: 'We have just come back from the Mönchröthen Forest, where we shot wild boars, Fritz, I, and——? Lord John!! Victoria, and all our party, were with us; the weather glorious!'

had come over from Weimar to spend the day. A farewell visit was paid in the afternoon to the neighbourhood of the Rosenau. 'We went past the *Schweizerei* to get a good view of the dear Rosenau, a short way from Oeslau. We found a good place, and I made a successful sketch, to my great satisfaction. A nice old woman in her Sunday dress coming past, we stopped her, and she stood with her basket on her back while I made a sketch of her. When finished, I showed it to her, and she was delighted; she called her grandson to look at it, and then shook hands with me. They are so good, so simple, and unaffected, these people. Elizabeth Korn was her name. A funny, rather tipsy old man in Sunday dress, with silver buttons to his plush waistcoat, came up to the carriage, and was not pleased at being sent off. '*Sie thun mir Nichts, ich thue Ihnen Nichts*'—('You don't meddle with me, I don't meddle with you'), was his observation, when the footman sent him away. We got out close to the *Schweizerei*, and walked up to the dear Rosenau, but did not go into the house.'

Two days more, and the happy quickly-speeding hours of the stay at Coburg,—a stay full of sweet sad remembrances—would be at an end. The weather had become cold and wet, and the walks and drives were curtailed. There was much also to be done in reading and answering the necessary correspondence with Ministers and others. On the 8th, Her Majesty's Journal records there were 'constant despatches from Italy and about Italy. Matters become more and more complicated. The Emperor declares he shall protect the Pope in Rome. . . . Albert too busy to go out.' The next day there is the same entry about the Prince. But he was able to join in a walk in the afternoon. 'It began to rain, and we turned into the old *Schiesshaus* (Shooting-gallery), where Albert was anxious

to look at all the old targets and bull's-eyes, as well as at all the portraits of the different *Schützenkönige.* Albert's and Ernest's *beste Schüsse* (best shots) are preserved.' After the return to the Palace, 'I sketched the Festung from my window, and with some success. Had a last visit from dear Stockmar, and talked over many things with him. Towards the end of his stay, dear little William came in and played about the room, and we got over the leave-taking without its upsetting Stockmar too much.' It was the last evening, and, after numerous leave-takings, the Queen and Prince retired to their rooms 'sorrowing.'

Next morning at ten, says the Royal record, 'with heavy hearts we left dearest Coburg, where we had been very, very happy. . . . We looked at it from the train as long as we could, till the last glimpse was gone. We returned by precisely the same way as we had come, but I felt no pleasure in gazing at the pretty scenery, my heart being so sad. That fortnight, with its joys and sorrows, and its fearful episode of my dearest Albert's accident, will be for ever deeply engraven on my heart.'

The long return journey to Frankfort and Mayence seemed doubly long, regret having taken the place of those pleasant anticipations, which had made the journey to Coburg seem comparatively short. At Frankfort the Royal travellers were met by the Prince Regent of Prussia, who accompanied them to Mayence, where they arrived soon after seven. They put up at the 'Rheinischer Hof,' where, the Queen records, they were comfortably lodged; but those who know the locality will appreciate Her Majesty's feeling on contrasting next morning the charming outlook from her windows at Coburg with what met her eyes at Mayence. 'The hotel actually upon the railway, with a dreadful high wall just outside it, which completely shut out all view! Too bad!' A dull rainy morning made bad worse. 'The Prince Regent came

to breakfast with us. Dear little William running about, but all seemed so different from the breakfasts at Coburg.'

'After breakfast at ten the Duke of Nassau and Prince Nicholas paid us a short visit, and at eleven came the Prince and Princess Charles of Hesse-Darmstadt, who had come on purpose to meet us. She was most friendly and kind; he very civil and amiable, but painfully shy.' It was arranged that Prince Louis should visit England later in the year, in order that the Princess Alice and himself should have an opportunity of seeing more of each other, and the Prince Consort undertook to arrange with the Prince Regent for his obtaining leave of absence from his regiment to enable him to make this visit.

A few weeks previously (12th September) an unpleasant incident had occurred at Bonn, which at the time caused much angry feeling in England, and at one time threatened to create an estrangement between the Governments of England and Prussia. A dispute about a seat in a railway carriage had taken place between a Captain Macdonald and some of the railway authorities. Captain Macdonald had been ejected from his place, and committed to prison under circumstances which created great indignation among the English residents at Bonn.[3] It had already become the theme of a warm diplomatic correspondence. Her Majesty's Journal of this day alludes to it thus:—'Saw Lord John on the subject of a vexatious circumstance which took place about three weeks ago, viz. a dispute on the railway at Bonn, and the ejection and imprisonment (unfairly, it seems) of a

[3] Captain Macdonald complained of the violence used, and also of the way he was treated in prison. But the chief cause of offence was the tone and language in which the conduct of English travellers generally was spoken of by the Staatsprocurator or public prosecutor. His words were:—'The English residing and travelling are notorious for the rudeness, impudence, and boorish arrogance (*die Anmassung, Unverschämtheit und Lümmelei*) of their conduct.' Captain Macdonald was kept in prison from the 12th to the 18th of September, when he was tried and fined twenty thalers and costs.

Captain Macdonald, and the subsequent offensive behaviour of the authorities. It has led to ill blood, and much correspondence, but Lord John is very reasonable about it, and not inclined to do anything rash. These foreign governments are very arbitrary and violent, and our people apt to give offence, and to pay no regard to the laws of the country.' We shall find the affair, which grew to serious proportions, more than once alluded to in the Prince's letters.

'At one o'clock,' to resume Her Majesty's narrative, 'we all left Mayence by rail, intending to take the *Fairy* at Bingen, and go down the Rhine, but it was so cold and pouring with rain, that when we arrived there we had to give up our purpose. Vicky had never seen the Rhine, and she admired its great beauties even through the rain, which seemed destined to fall each time I came there, for in 1845 it was just the same.'

At Coblenz the Royal travellers were met at the station by the Princess of Prussia (now Empress of Germany), and drove with her to the Palace—'a large white building facing the town, something in the style of Versailles, the other side being close upon the Rhine.' The weather was 'deplorably wet' and the Queen was 'suffering with sore throat.' Although this was 'very uncomfortable,' Her Majesty joined the dinner party, and in the course of the evening had much conversation with Baron Schleinitz the Prussian Minister, Count Blücher, M. de Bacourt, 'a very clever man, formerly under Talleyrand, an old and very confidential friend of the Princess (of Prussia), and others.'

'*October* 12.—A rather better morning. . . . At eleven we walked out with the Princess, Vicky, Alice, and Fritz of Baden, first in the garden, and then along the Rhine, where the Princess has made a really lovely promenade with statues, figures, and flowers, and afterwards in the town, to look at the bridge [near the confluence of the Moselle and Rhine].

Could hardly stand,—felt so weak and full of aches when we came back, and had to lie down and rest; but before doing so, we went to see the fine chapel, and also the small English one, which the Princess has arranged for the English residents—both in the Schloss. . . . Soon after luncheon we dressed to go out. It rained and hailed heavily just before we drove out, and this drive it was which increased my cold so much. . . . We drove up to the Stolzenfels, got out at the Castle, and went over all this really beautiful place. . . . I remembered it all so well' (*ante*, vol. i. p. 280), 'and was much pleased to see it again. Our rooms and everything reminded me of the poor King. The chapel is now finished, and the painting by Däger very beautiful. But oh! it was dreadfully, bitterly cold and damp. However, the beams of light on the Rhine, and the view on Ehrenbreitstein lit up by the setting sun, were splendid. . . . Only home by ten minutes past six. Felt thoroughly chilled, for it was very damp and cold. Vicky came over to us, and remained with us, it being, alas! our last day together, and the darling little boy was with us for nearly an hour, running about so dearly and merrily.'—Ill as Her Majesty by this time was, she did not fail her hosts either at dinner, or in the evening.

Next day the Royal party left Coblenz at eleven. To add to the Queen's sufferings, which had now become very painful, 'the day became very wet and cold. At Cologne our darling little William was brought into our carriage to bid good-by, as he was to wait there the return of Vicky and Fritz. I felt the parting deeply. . . . The Prince Regent talked a little in the train of his approaching visit to Warsaw (on the 22nd), where he is to meet the Emperors of Russia and Austria,—his determination to be bound to nothing,—his regret we had not seen the Emperor of Austria, as it would have made matters easier for him,—of Lord John's having talked to

M. de Schleinitz, and of an understanding between the two Governments to communicate to one another all proposals made to them separately, &c. Lord John told me his conversation with M. de Schleinitz had been very long and interesting. The unfortunate Macdonald affair was being inquired into. Our people certainly ought to observe the laws of the countries they travel in.'

At Aix-la-Chapelle the Prince Regent and the Princess of Prussia took leave. Another half-hour's journey brought the Queen and Prince to the Prussian frontier, Herbesthal. 'And here we had to part with our dear children. It was a sad moment; and poor Vicky was so upset, that it upset me, and Alice (of course) much also. . . . At Verviers Leopold, and Marie Brabant, and Philip joined us. . . . I had to lie down, and only got up about a quarter of an hour before we reached Brussels. At the station dear Uncle received us. I could hardly walk when we got out, and with difficulty got up stairs. . . . Dr. Baly found my throat very bad, that I had much fever; so I was ordered to remain lying down in my room and to see no one. . . . Not since Ramsgate in 1835 did I feel so ill as I did this day.'

The Queen was confined to her room the next day. 'Felt considerably better, but must stay in my own room. It was provoking, as Uncle gave a very large dinner in honour of myself. By opening the door I could hear the fine band of the Guides. Later, Jane [Lady] Churchill came and read to me out of *The Mill on the Floss*. Dr. Baly found me much better.'

The same day the Prince sent a flying greeting to the much-loved daughter from whom he had so lately parted, in which he said: 'The time we were together was very sweet and friendly, and the whole stay at Coburg has done my heart much good; it has also gladdened me, that my old cradle has pleased your children so much. Uncle is very well.'

He also wrote to Baron Stockmar:—

'. . . I will tell you how we have got on. We are now in Brussels; Victoria, unfortunately, not quite well, with earache and sore throat, accompanied by feverishness. I was affected in the same way the first evening in Coblenz, but am now quite well, all but a little sore throat. The days of late have been altogether too damp and cold; at Hanau there was even snow upon the ground. . . .

'The Prince Regent met us in Frankfort. He is well, cheerful, and in good heart. We discussed every eventuality, and he sees his way clearly, and is quite resolved not to let himself be circumvented at Warsaw in anything.

'. . . The Grand Duke and Duchess of Baden were at Coblenz. Hohenzollern was there, too, and Schleinitz. I had much and thorough talk with Fritz of Baden and Hohenzollern, and we quite understand each other. I got no conversation with Schleinitz; he was wholly absorbed by the ladies.

'The Bonn story still sleeps. Hohenzollern had never heard of it. Schleinitz took it very easily. Palmerston, on the other hand, has written a Memorandum in which he represents that unless the judge is at once cashiered and punished, and reparation made to Captain Macdonald, he will break off diplomatic relations with Prussia. . . . I have pressed for an exact and complete publication of what actually occurred.

'Meyer and Becker' [former librarians of the Prince] 'both came to Coblenz. I hope the severe weather has not again upset you. Uncle Leopold is very well.

'Brussels, 14th October, 1860.'

To return to Her Majesty's Journal:—

'*October* 15.—Had a very good night, and felt much better; the throat much less painful. Our beloved *Verlobungstag*

(betrothal-day) twenty-one years ago! God grant we may see many more anniversaries! . . . Albert was out both morning and afternoon, visiting the Exhibition, and making purchases. He gave me such a pretty bracelet in recollection of the day.' Although very weak, the Queen was so much better, that she was able to drive out during the day, and to dine *en famille* with King Leopold and his children.

The next day the Queen had so far recovered, as to be able to resume the journey home. Leaving Brussels at half-past one, in company with the King and his sons, who were to accompany them as far as Antwerp, the Queen and Prince with their suite embarked immediately on reaching that city. Before the yacht had been under way for an hour, it grew quite dark, 'the sky inky black. Down came a deluge of rain, in the middle of which we were compelled to anchor.' Resuming the voyage next morning at six, the Royal travellers reached Gravesend about six in the evening, and by a quarter to eight were at Windsor Castle. 'Found all the dear children well, and delighted to see us, including our precious little Beatrice. Already a week since we left Coburg, and the dear happy days there belong to the treasured recollections of the past!'

## CHAPTER CVII.

By the time the Prince reached England, all the traces of his alarming accident at Coburg had disappeared. But the thought of what might have happened was still vividly present to Her Majesty. Only to Baron Stockmar had she ventured at the time to express something of what she felt; and even with him it was necessary to maintain the greatest composure, for the good old man had owned, that in thinking of the danger the Prince had run, he had 'nearly gone crazy.' To express her gratitude for the Prince's deliverance in some permanent memorial, had been Her Majesty's first thought. With this view she wrote the following letter three days after her return home (20th October) to Sir Charles Phipps, the administrator of Her Majesty's Privy Purse:—

'The Queen now comes to the subject, which she has mentioned to no one yet, but about which she has quite made up her own mind. Perhaps from the Queen's calmness at the time, and her anxiety that no one should think the Prince was seriously hurt, as well as to prevent her dear brother [the Duke of Coburg] from being more distressed than he already was, Sir C. Phipps may have thought that the Queen did not fully admit the awfulness of the danger which her dear husband had been exposed to, or the providential escape he had from all really serious injury; but it is when the Queen feels most deeply, that she always appears calmest, and she could not and dared not allow herself to

speak of what might have been, or even to admit to herself (and she cannot and dare not now) the entire danger, for her head would turn! It is necessity and principle, that the Queen should act thus on all occasions of danger, and she thinks it is right. This, however, is only a prelude.

'The Queen feels so deeply impressed with gratitude to our Heavenly Father, in having guided her beloved husband to do what was the only right thing, and in having watched over and protected him at this hour of peril, that she cannot rest without doing something to mark permanently her feelings. In times of old a church or a monument would probably have been erected on the spot. What the Queen wishes to do is to be able to benefit her fellow-creatures, and her desire would be to found, or add to some charity at Coburg (her dear husband's home), by adding a wing either to some school or hospital (of both of which they are much in want), which might bear the Queen's name. 1,000*l.*, or even 2,000*l.*, given either at once, or in instalments yearly, would not, in the Queen's opinion, be too much. She will not rest satisfied till she has done this. She has been thinking of it continually, day and night. . . .'

Acting upon the views here expressed, Her Majesty decided upon founding some permanent charity in the town of Coburg, from which a benevolent distribution should be made annually on the 1st of October, the anniversary of the Prince's escape. It was suggested by the Duke and Duchess of Coburg, that the charity should bear the Queen's name. Accordingly a trust, called the 'Victoria-Stift' (Victoria Foundation) was established by investing 12,000 florins—a little over 1,000*l.*,—in the names of the Burgomaster and General-Superintendent (chief clergyman) of Coburg, for the time, as trustees. The interest from this fund was directed to be distributed by the trustees, in accordance with certain

prescribed regulations, on the 1st of October in each year, among a certain number of young men and women of exemplary character belonging to the humbler ranks of life. The payments so made were to be applied in apprenticing the young men, or purchasing tools or other objects to enable them to pursue any industrial occupation, or, in the case of the young women, as a dowry on their marriage, or to assist in putting them in the way of earning their livelihood. An annual report is made to Her Majesty by the trustees of the fund, which, while answering the benevolent intentions of the founder, benefits the Prince's native town in the way he would himself most have desired.

During the few weeks' absence of the Queen and Prince from England, events had been moving forward in Italy with unflagging rapidity. Although the Emperor of the French had withdrawn his representatives from Turin, immediately after the invasion by Sardinia of Umbria and the Marches, and had sent fresh troops to reinforce those which already occupied Rome and the surrounding country, it was soon apparent that, so long as the personal safety of the Pope and the immediate patrimony of St. Peter remained inviolate, he would take no active measures to arrest the national movement for the establishment of an united Italy. His Ministers and accredited agents in Italy were, according to his custom, kept very much in the dark as to his real intentions, and encouraged the hopes of the Royalist party by the vehemence with which they denounced the annexation to Sardinia, which now seemed to be inevitable. But the Emperor himself, pledged as he was to the doctrine of the independence of nationalities [1] and to the Italian cause, and

[1] When the Emperor of the French, after the battle of Sadowa, tendered Venetia, which had been placed at his disposal by the Emperor of Austria, to the King of Italy, his words were (11th August, 1866): 'My purpose has always been to restore Italy to herself, so that she should be free from the Alps

well understanding how hopeless resistance would now be to the impulse which that cause had received, kept his own counsels, and acted upon the principle of a 'wise passiveness,' watching the progress of events, without committing himself to any decisive action.

Prussia considered it necessary to enter her protest against the principles upon which Sardinia had justified her invasion of the Papal provinces and the Neapolitan Kingdom, and also against 'the invitation to the Italian people to declare formally by universal suffrage the deposition of their Princes,' implied in the convocation of the Sardinian Chambers to consider whether, if this vote were given, the King of Sardinia should be authorised to give it effect (*ante*, p. 192). This protest was conveyed in a Despatch (13th October) from Baron Schleinitz to Count Brassier de St. Simon, the Prussian Ambassador at Turin. But this Despatch, while 'expressing in the most explicit and formal manner disapprobation of the principles urged by Count Cavour, and of the application which it had been thought proper to give them,' menaced no further action to prevent their being so applied, nor even a rupture of diplomatic relations.[2]

to the Adriatic. Mistress of her own destinies she will soon be able to express her own will by universal suffrage. Your Majesty will recognise that in these circumstances the action of France has been again exercised in favour of humanity and the independence of nationalities.'

[2] *The Times*, of the 19th of October, 1860, unwittingly expanding a well-known passage in the *Antigone* of Sophocles, put the case for Sardinia on the only tenable footing. 'In our eyes,' it wrote, 'the only defence for the conduct of the King lies in those natural laws which lie unwritten in every code and unnamed in every form of government, but which intolerable oppression calls forth from latent existence into active force. It is the unbearable tyranny of the two sovereigns of Southern Italy, it is the massacres of Perugia, the prisons of Palermo, and the dungeons of St. Elmo, which have given to the people of Southern Italy the right to call for a deliverer, and which have given to Victor Emmanuel the same excuse for assuming the crown of Naples, which William of Orange had for accepting that of England. Upon this principle and upon no other, Victor Emmanuel can vindicate his own presence in Southern Italy, and upon this title he will be fully justified in putting an end to the war by one decisive movement.

Russia was not contented with a mere protest, but, finding that Sardinia, disregarding her remonstrances, continued the campaign in the Kingdom of Naples, recalled her Legation from Turin on the 21st of October. A few days afterwards Spain adopted the same course.

By that time, however, Victor Emmanuel was in a position to regard the frown even of Russia with comparative indifference. The Royalist troops had upon the 2nd of October sustained a crushing defeat at the hands of Garibaldi upon the Volturno. The Piedmontese Chambers had, on the 16th, voted, by an overwhelming majority, the Bill to authorise the annexation of the Papal provinces and of the Neapolitan Kingdom; and Garibaldi, recovering from the transitory pique occasioned by the adherence of the Sovereign to Cavour and Farini, had hailed the advance of the Piedmontese troops upon Neapolitan soil, and proclaimed that on the arrival of the King he would place in his hands, as the constitutional Sovereign of the Kingdom of the Two Sicilies, the Dictatorship of the Kingdom previously conferred by the nation upon himself.

These events were not without their influence at the Court of the Tuileries. This soon became apparent; for simultaneously with the announcement that Russia had broken off diplomatic relations with Sardinia, a semi-official article appeared in the *Constitutionnel*, which, after justifying the neutral position which France had hitherto occupied, set the seal of her approval upon the policy of Cavour by emphatically declaring that 'an organised and powerful Italy is henceforth for the interest of Europe.'

After such an intimation, Count Cavour had little reason to fear any active resistance either from France or any of the other Continental Governments to his hitherto triumphant policy. Accordingly, the Piedmontese troops were hurried forward across the Neapolitan frontier. The Royalist forces, which

had rallied after their severe defeat on the Volturno, showing a spirit that, if earlier displayed, might have seriously delayed the solution of the Italian question, attacked the leading Piedmontese columns on the heights of Macerone on the 21st of October. They were driven back with a heavy loss, and compelled to retire from the line of the Volturno behind the Garigliano, leaving, however, a strong body of troops in possession of Capua. On the 26th Victor Emmanuel, who was advancing at the head of his troops, was met on the line of the Volturno by Garibaldi. 'At ten paces distant,' an eye-witness, writing in the *Journal des Dêbats*, records, 'the officers of the King and those of Garibaldi shouted, "Viva Victor Emmanuele!" Garibaldi made a step in advance, raised his cap, and added, in a voice which trembled with emotion, "King of Italy!" Victor Emmanuel raised his hand to his cap, and then stretched out his hand to Garibaldi, and with equal emotion replied, "I thank you!"'

Having thus effectively secured the co-operation of Garibaldi and his friends, Victor Emmanuel lost no time in pressing forward to complete the overthrow of the Royalist troops. He attacked and defeated them in their new position on the Garigliano on the 3rd of November. Retreating in confusion, the Neapolitans fell back upon Gaëta, the last refuge of Francis II., which was immediately invested. Meanwhile Capua had surrendered, and the garrison, about 9,000 strong, had been made prisoners of war. From this moment any further effective resistance on the part of the King was manifestly hopeless.

The announcement of an intended meeting of the Emperors of Russia and Austria with the Prince Regent of Prussia on the 22nd of October, to which reference has been made in the previous chapter, had been the fertile source of speculation and conjecture, as such meetings invariably are, in all political and official circles. It had raised wild hopes at the Vatican,

and also among the supporters of Francis II., of armed intervention in Italy to put down the movement for the erection of a great Italian Kingdom. But the Northern Sovereigns met and parted, and no steps in this direction were taken. Conjectures, no less unfounded, were also rife as to a coalition of the Northern Powers to secure a revision of the Treaty of Paris of 1856, to guarantee Austria from attack in Venetia or Hungary, and even to effect the isolation of England from the other European Powers. That the interview had led to no results likely to affect the tranquillity of Europe, or the political situation in any material respect, was the conclusion at which well-informed observers soon arrived. This may be seen by what the Prince wrote (5th November) in the following letter to Baron Stockmar, in which he incidentally alludes to the meeting at Warsaw, of which he was aware that he would in due time learn all essential particulars from the Prince Regent of Prussia:—

'I hoped to have been able to announce to you the arrival of our sons' [the Prince of Wales from America, and Prince Alfred from the Cape], 'but a frightful east wind has been blowing for a week, and to all appearance they cannot make way homewards. This makes us rather impatient, even although we have the consolation of being ourselves on *terra firma*. The east wind, which in Coburg very likely brings snow, while here it only makes itself felt like snow, will do you no good either. We are well. . . .

'Lord Dalhousie[3] and Lord Cawdor are dying. Lord Dundonald died some days ago [30th October], in his eighty-fifth year, having just completed, however, the second volume of a very interesting book. . . .

'I should be glad to know your views about the Vienna

[3] Lord Cawdor died on the 7th of November, and Lord Dalhousie on the 19th of December, 1860, the latter at the early age of 48,—'a great loss for the country,' the Prince notes in his Diary for the day.

Commissions.[4] Will they give satisfaction? Will they be carried out in good faith, accepted in good faith? Here people's whole attention is absorbed by Italy. Nothing else has any existence. Germany is "a mere nuisance." In Warsaw no definite arrangements seem to have been come to (I have as yet had no communication from the Prince Regent, but this seems to be the result). Still I think it has become more and more apparent that France and Russia are looked upon as mutually bound to act *de commun accord* within certain limits, and to hold fast by the Stuttgart engagements.[5]

'We have the Hereditary Prince of Holstein-Augustenburg [brother of Prince Christian] staying here, along with Ada [his wife, daughter of the Princess Hohenlohe], with Mama at Frogmore. I like him very much. With great calmness of manner he seems to possess strong sense and judgment, and takes a lively interest in everything.'

[4] On the 21st of October, 1860, the Emperor of Austria, entering on what the wise Hungarian patriot Francis Deak called at the time 'the path of Constitutionalism,' promulgated a new Constitution, or Imperial Diploma, by which he conferred on the Reichsrath legislative powers, and a control of the national finances. It declared in somewhat vague terms, that all matters of legislation relating to the 'kingdoms and countries belonging to the Hungarian Crown should be managed in the sense of their former Constitutions,' and by Imperial letters, addressed at the same time to Baron Vay, the Emperor intimated that 'for the future the ancient principle of the public law of Hungary, that the legislative power can only be exercised by the Sovereign with the participation of the Hungarian Diet, shall be valid,' and announced numerous other concessions to the demands of the National party in Hungary. Imperial autograph letters (the 'Commissions' mentioned by the Prince) were also addressed to the various Ministers of State, and it was proclaimed that the numbers of the members to be sent by the local Diets to the Reichsrath should be increased from eighty to one hundred. The Hungarians were not satisfied with these concessions, and persisted in their demands of (1) the restoration of their old Constitution; (2) the coronation of the Emperor at Pesth as King of Hungary, and (3) the nomination by the monarch of a Palatine, who should be one of three persons nominated by the nation.

[5] These were, that neither Russia nor France 'should take any determination on questions of mutual interest without previous consultation with each other.'

A few days after this letter was written, the Prince heard from the Prince Regent of Prussia, who had been prevented from writing sooner by the illness and death of his sister, the Empress-Mother of Russia, to whom he was very tenderly attached. The Prince Regent reported what had passed at Warsaw with the same frankness as he had shown in regard to the previous interviews at Baden and at Töplitz. As might have been expected, the truth bore very little resemblance to the conjectures of the journals or political *salons*. The Prince communicated, without loss of time, to Lord Palmerston and Lord John Russell, a summary of his correspondent's communication, in a letter of which the following are the material passages:—

'The Prince Regent declares that all the newspaper suppositions that Russia had asked for a revision of the Treaty of 1856, Austria for a guarantee of Venetia or Prussian assistance in Italy or Hungary, were mere fables, and that these topics had not even been alluded to in conversation. On the other hand, they were unanimous that, if Austria were to be attacked in Venetia and to be victorious, and reconquered Lombardy, she could not be asked to promise beforehand not to keep her conquest, but that the fate of Lombardy would in that case have to be reserved for the stipulations of peace.

'Upon hints that the subjects of conference might be fitly settled hereafter in a Congress, the Prince Regent made it a condition that England must be previously informed of everything before decisions were taken. This appears to have been accepted and joined in, particularly by Austria, as a *sine quâ non* condition. . . .

'The Prince says there was no mention of a Treaty, nor even of "*ponctuations*," nor of a revival of the Holy Alliance. The Sovereigns were unanimous in their conviction of the

danger arising out of the ambiguous policy of the Emperor Napoleon, and of the necessity of demanding guarantees from him in order to preserve the peace of Europe, to uphold the shaken foundations of public law, and to arrest the progress of a general revolution. Their main difference consisted in the belief of Russia, that the given guarantees were sufficient, and that by showing confidence in the Emperor, they would gain him for the Conservative side. The Prince recognised the tendency, even if not expressed, in all this, to isolate England; on account of which he repeatedly protested even against merely verbal agreements without her knowledge. He was pleased to observe, that the Emperor of Austria recognised in the strongest manner the importance of close friendship with England, as the safest ally in case of Napoleonic attacks upon Germany.

'The Prince does not deny that the late Italian policy of England was viewed with very great regret. . . . He seems very unhappy about Lord John Russell's last published Despatch, which he calls a tough morsel to digest, in which he sees a disruption of the Law of Nations as hitherto recognised, and of the holy ties which bound people and sovereigns, and a declaration on the part of England, that, wheresoever there exists any dissatisfaction among a people, they have the privilege to expel their sovereign, with the assured certainty of England's sympathy. The Prince sees great difficulty in the way of future agreement with England, if that is to be the basis of her policy, and regrets the effect it has had in destroying the sympathies which were arising for her on the Continent.

'The Emperor of Austria renewed the declaration of his intention not to act offensively in Italy. Prince Gortschakoff's aim is a close union with France, to which system he wishes to attach Austria and Prussia, and thus to oppose Revolution.'

The Despatch of Lord John Russell, to which reference is here made, was one addressed on the 27th of October to Sir James Hudson, the English Minister at Turin. Its immediate motive seems to have been the condemnation pronounced by France, Russia, and Prussia, upon the invasion by Victor Emmanuel of the territories of the Pope and of the King of Naples, with neither of whom he had a legitimate cause of quarrel, while with the latter he was actually at peace. Even those who shared Lord John Russell's enthusiasm for the Italian cause felt that it was more prudent to accept quietly the success which had attended it, than to provoke too much attention to the infringement of the rules of international law by which that success was in a great measure effected. A simple recognition of the change which had taken place in Italy was all that was required from England. Any vindication of the means by which it had been brought about was quite uncalled-for; and a vindication upon the grounds on which it was rested by Lord John Russell's Despatch, however valuable to the Italians, was scarcely prudent from the pen of an English Minister, involving as it did the assertion of principles which might prove extremely inconvenient and even perplexing to himself or his successors in upholding English rights and English interests under certain possible contingencies. It was said with great force at the time, that 'any Emperor or President of a Republic who entertained an inconvenient sympathy for Canada, for Ireland, for India, or for the Channel Islands, will remember that Vattel and Lord John Russell approve of foreign intervention against oppressive and unpopular governments.' The remedy in the case of Italy, like the circumstances, was wholly exceptional, and nothing was to be gained by an attempt, like that made in this Despatch, to reduce to a legal basis what was in effect the violent breach of every legal right.

Such was, at least, the Prince's opinion, as it was that of

many of the ablest statesmen of all shades of politics. In writing (14th November) to his daughter at Berlin on the subject, he says: 'Even though one accepts the results of the strange Italian story, yet the best course certainly is to say nothing of the way it has been brought about. . . . The Despatch has not been well received here, and has missed its object of propitiating the press, who were up in arms at the warning to Sardinia not to seize Venice.[6] I recommend to your attentive perusal the two articles in the *Saturday Review* (10th November) upon the Despatch, and upon the hostile attitude of *The Times* towards Prussia! They are admirably written, and deserve to be translated into German.'

The incessant attacks by *The Times* on Prussia and everything Prussian at this time, and for many months afterwards, were a source of serious disquietude to the Prince. In the article in the *Saturday Review*, recommended by him to his daughter, it was said: 'The only reason *The Times* ever gives for its dislike of Prussia, is that the Prussian and English Courts are connected by personal ties, and that British independence demands that everything proceeding from the Court should be watched with the most jealous suspicion.' The Prince was too secure in the consciousness of the groundlessness of such suspicions, too indifferent to the insinuations against himself by which they were frequently pointed, to give them a moment's thought, but he dreaded the effect in Germany of articles calculated to wound every feeling of national dignity and self-respect. He well knew the weight which was attached there to the

[6] The Prince refers to what Lord John Russell had said in a Despatch to Sir J. Hudson on the 31st of August, deprecating any attack by Sardinia on Venetia. 'The only chance,' he wrote, 'which Sardinia could have in such a contest would be the hope of bringing France into the field, and kindling a general war in Europe. But let not Count Cavour indulge in so pernicious a delusion. The Great Powers of Europe are bent on maintaining peace, *and Great Britain has interests in the Adriatic which Her Majesty's Government must watch with careful attention.*'

utterances of the leading journal, and how they were accepted as speaking the mind of the British nation. These articles, fraught as they were with danger to a good understanding between the countries, caused him positive pain. To quote the language of a Memorandum written by the Queen in January 1862, 'they made him very angry, and did him harm. He would say, "*Wieder ein ganz infamer Artikel gegen Preussen; er wird ungeheuren Schaden thun.*" ("Another quite disgraceful article against Prussia; it will do immense mischief.") "*Das thut furchtbar viel Schaden!*" ("That will do a frightful deal of mischief.") He would not hear of my saying, it did not signify, and he was right. "*Du sagst immer, es macht nichts, aber ich versichere Dir, alle Leute lesen die Times.*" ("You always say, it is of no consequence, but I assure you, everybody reads *The Times*") and forms their opinion upon it. And yet,' continues Her Majesty, remembering, no doubt, the misrepresentations and innuendoes by which the Prince had frequently been assailed, 'this very *Times* had the most beautiful articles upon him when he died.' Yes, it was the old sad story—

> That what we have, we prize not to the worth
> Whiles we enjoy it; but, being lack'd and lost,
> Why, then we rack the value, then we find
> The virtue that possession would not show us,
> Whiles it was ours.—

How serious was the view taken of the subject by the Prince may be seen by the following passage in one of his letters to his daughter in Berlin (24th October):—

'What abominable articles *The Times* has against Prussia! That of yesterday upon Warsaw and Schleinitz is positively too wicked. It is the Bonn story which continues to operate, and a total estrangement between the two countries may

ensue, if a newspaper war be kept up for some time between the two nations. Hohenzollern or Schleinitz should at least take cognizance of this. Feelings, and not arguments, constitute the basis for actions. We have fresh evidence of this in what has happened in Italy, where the King of Sardinia may behave ever so unjustly (in theory), but practically people applaud him! An embitterment of feeling between England and Prussia would be a great misfortune, and yet they are content in Berlin to make no move in the Bonn affair.'

Unfortunately the Government of Prussia was in no hurry to close up an affair, which continued for many months to keep up a feeling of irritation between that country and England. It was not settled till the following May; but a bitterness had in the meantime been engendered, which did not die out until long afterwards.

With the beginning of November the Queen and Prince had begun to look for the return of the Prince of Wales and of Prince Arthur from their respective expeditions to Canada and to the Cape. Day followed day without tidings of their arrival, and anxiety had almost grown to uneasiness before either of them reached the English shores. On the 9th of November the Prince makes the following entry in his Diary:—'Bertie's birthday. Unfortunately he is still absent, neither do we hear anything of him. On the other hand, Alfred arrived at Portsmouth in the *Euryalus* this morning early. He was with us by six o'clock,—very well.'

We have seen the importance attached by the Prince (*ante*, p. 88) to the visit of the Princes to our two great Colonial possessions. He had taken the greatest pains to organise them both so as to ensure their being carried out successfully, and the intelligence which from time to time reached Her Majesty and himself showed that his efforts had not

been in vain. Prince Alfred reached Simon's Bay on the 24th of July in the *Euryalus*, in which he served as a midshipman. Only while actually away from the ship was he treated in any other character, and the harbour-master, on boarding the *Euryalus*, was not a little surprised to find the Prince dressed as an ordinary midshipman, and performing that officer's duty at the gangway as the port boat came alongside. On the 25th the Prince landed, and proceeded to Cape Town. 'Never,' said the local record of the day, 'since the Cape became a British Colony, were the streets so gaily decorated,' and never had the population turned out in such numbers, or shown so much enthusiasm, as in welcoming the Queen's son.

The Prince remained at Cape Town until the 2nd of August, when he re-embarked along with the Governor, Sir George Grey, who, it had been arranged, was to accompany him on his tour through the Colony. Algoa Bay was reached on the 5th, and on the 6th the Prince landed at Port Elizabeth, where he was received with all princely honours. All the other important ports and places in the Cape Colony, in Kaffraria, Natal, and the Orange Free State, were visited, and everywhere the young Prince was welcomed with enthusiasm. From time to time reports of his progress, most gratifying in their tenor, reached the Queen and Prince. But none could have been more acceptable than the few hearty words of Sir George Grey to a private friend, in a letter from King William's Town on the 13th of August, of which the Prince Consort has preserved a copy among his papers. 'Nothing,' he wrote, 'can be more gratifying than everything connected with Prince Alfred's journeys here. He is a noble young fellow, full of life and fun. He is received everywhere with transports of delight. He rides as far and fast as I can myself, delights in every style of life, wins the hearts of all the native chiefs, gladdens the Europeans by the interest he takes in their prosperity, and by the good

influence he exercises over the natives, as also by turning out in dress and even minute articles of equipment a thorough South African sportsman.'

On the 6th of September Prince Alfred embarked at Port Natal to return to Cape Town. He found on board the *Euryalus* Sandilli, the celebrated Chief of the Gaikas, who, with ten of his councillors, had been persuaded to pay a visit to Cape Town. They were very glad, Major, now Sir John, Cowell wrote to the Prince Consort (6th of September) to see the Prince again, 'for some had misgivings as to the real intentions of our Government until this evening. . . . Sandilli's tribe begged him with tears as he passed not to trust himself in our hands, for they knew that he would be executed, and the fact of the Rev. Tya Toga accompanying him only increased this belief in his fate, for they said that we always employ clergymen on such occasions.' The last of these misgivings were dispelled after the young Prince came on board. 'Peace and happiness,' adds Major Cowell, 'now reigns in their "kraal," as the men call the space enclosed on the main deck for the Kaffirs. They have been very happy on board, and speak in the highest terms of the treatment which they have received from every one on board, from Captain Tarleton' [the Captain of the *Euryalus*] 'to the croomen who attend upon them.'

This kindness and what they saw on board the *Euryalus* were not lost upon Sandilli and his friends. They were impressed, as Cetewayo, the Zulu Chief—whom, like them, it had cost as much trouble to subdue—was in more recent days impressed by the evidence of the power of England manifested in one of her great ships of war. But, as Sir George Grey observed, in a speech at the opening of the Public Library in Cape Town by Prince Alfred a few days afterwards, 'in their eyes the most admirable of all the many things they saw, was the sight of a number of hardy

barefooted lads assisting at daybreak in washing the decks, foremost among whom in activity and energy was the son of the Queen of England.' They put their thoughts into words in the following remarkable letter to Captain Tarleton:—

'Sandilli and his councillors give thanks. By the invitation of the great Chief, the son of the Queen of the English people, are we this day on board this mighty vessel.

'The invitation was accepted with fear. With dread we came on board, and in trouble have we witnessed the dangers of the great waters, but through your skill have we passed through this tribulation.

'We have seen what our ancestors heard not of. Now have we grown old and learned wisdom. The might of England has been fully illustrated to us, and now we behold our madness in taking up arms to resist the authority of our mighty and gracious Sovereign. Up to this time have we not ceased to be amazed at the wonderful things we have witnessed, and which are beyond our comprehension. But one thing we understand, the reason of England's greatness. When the son of her great Queen becomes subject to a subject, that he may learn wisdom, when the sons of England's chiefs and nobles leave the homes and wealth of their fathers, and with their young Prince endure hardships and sufferings in order that they may be wise, and become a defence to their country, when we behold these things, we see why the English are a great and mighty nation.

'What we have now learnt shall be transmitted to our wondering countrymen and handed down to our children, who will be wiser than their fathers, and your mighty Queen shall be their sovereign and ours in all time coming.'

On the 17th of September Prince Alfred laid the first stone, or rather tilted into the sea the first waggon-load of the stones which were to form the breakwater in Table Bay. 'The ceremony,' Major Cowell wrote to the Prince, 'was most interesting, and every one in the Colony who could be present was there.'

The festivities which signalised this visit to our South African possessions were worthily closed by the speeches of

Sir George Grey and of the Attorney-General for Cape Colony, at the opening of the Public Library on the 18th. How the visit was appreciated, and the good results which it was calculated to produce, were points skilfully touched upon in the following sentences of the Attorney-General's speech :—

'The Prince Consort, in the course of an interesting speech delivered lately at Trinity House (*ante*, note, p. 88), referring to the vast and still growing greatness of the Colonial empire of England, spoke of the remarkable coincidence, suggestive of many thoughts, and characteristic of the present age, that whilst the Prince of Wales would be in Canada, opening the bridge over the St. Lawrence, Prince Alfred would be at the Cape, commencing the breakwater in Table Bay. In welcoming Prince Alfred to the Cape, where we are still in many respects in the day of small things, we could not, of course, aspire to emulate the splendour of the reception which the Prince of Wales will have received in the great colony of Canada, still less the yet greater splendour of the reception which was awaiting him in the country which adjoins Canada, where a kindred nation, sprung from English blood, do not after all forget their origin. But what the Cape people could do, they have striven to do with heart and soul, and if they have in any degree succeeded in testifying their love and loyalty towards Her Majesty the Queen, their sense of the honour that was done to them by the visit of her son, and their respectful affection for his Royal Highness himself—a feeling which his simple dignity and his constant courtesy have strongly and universally excited—if, I say, they have in any degree succeeded in these things, then they have fulfilled their whole desire and have had their high reward. Let his Royal Highness be assured that he carries away with him the heartiest good wishes of all ranks, races, creeds, and colours in South Africa ; that the people here, confident that in after life he will tread no path but that of honour, will watch with interest his future career, and that they will ever reckon it as one of the many services rendered to them by their Governor, Sir George Grey, that, through his instrumentality, the auspicious visit of Prince Alfred was arranged—a visit which has, as it were, annihilated ocean spaces, and brought us in feeling so close to the old mother country, that we seem to see her cliffs again.

The gratitude here expressed of the Colonists to Sir George Grey was no less warmly felt by the Queen and Prince. It found expression in the following letter of Her Majesty (4th of December, 1860):—

'Though Sir George Grey will receive the official expression of the Queen's high sense of the manner in which Prince Alfred has been received at the Cape, she is anxious to express personally both the Prince Consort's and her own thanks for the very great kindness Sir George Grey showed our child during his most interesting tour in that fine Colony; and she trusts that the effect produced on the nation and people in general will be as lasting and beneficial, as it must be on Prince Alfred to have witnessed the manner in which Sir George Grey devotes his whole time and energy to promote the happiness and welfare of his fellow-creatures.'

On the 15th of November the anxiety of the Queen and Prince was set at rest by a telegram from Plymouth, announcing the arrival of the Prince of Wales that morning at Plymouth, on board H.M.S. *Hero*. The same evening he arrived at Windsor Castle. The tale he had to tell of the way he had been received on the great American continent was one well calculated to rejoice the hearts of those whom he had been trusted to represent.

We have already spoken (*ante*, p. 149) of the welcome given to him at St. John's in Newfoundland. Warm as it was, it was outdone by the reception that awaited him as he advanced. Of what it was at Halifax (7th August) the Duke of Newcastle, writing the same day to Her Majesty, gave the following description:—

'The procession occupied nearly an hour and a half, and, making every allowance for the fact that the latest impressions are generally the strongest, the Duke of Newcastle feels fully justified in assuring your Majesty that this last demonstration

has been the grandest and most gratifying of all that have yet taken place.

'The numbers of people were so great, that it is difficult to conceive from whence they had come. Every window, every housetop, every available place was filled. Hundreds of well-dressed women, not satisfied with such safe points of view, lined the streets, and braved the clouds of dust and pressure of the multitude. Enthusiasm rose to such a height as to make its expression by voice and gesture insufficient for the wishes and feelings of the crowd. Many hundreds of bouquets were thrown at the carriage, which was half filled, though not one in fifty reached its aim. The cheers for the Queen and Prince were absolutely deafening, and when at last the Prince stepped into the boat to re-embark into the *Styx*, the excitement of the many thousands rose to a fever height, which seemed as if it could not be calmed. Numbers of steamers crowded with tiers of people looked as if they must sink with their cargo, whilst innumerable boats dotted the whole surface of the sea. At length the Prince got on board, the *Styx* got under way, whilst the still ringing cheers from the shores could be heard in the intervals of salutes from all points fired by the Volunteer Artillerymen, and thus ended the first part of this most remarkable and, as it will assuredly prove, ever memorable visit.'

The Duke goes on to apologise for his inability to do more than 'give slight outlines of events and the merest indications of the spirit and meaning of them,' and trusts Her Majesty 'may gather a truer impression of all that her North American subjects have done and felt, from the fuller accounts of reporters, Colonial, English, and Americans, who attend these scenes. He may venture, however, to affirm that good has already been sown broadcast by the Prince's visit, and he humbly prays that a rich harvest may arise from it to the honour and glory of your Majesty and your family, and the advantage of the mighty Empire committed to your rule.'

Every further step in the triumphal progress of the Prince of Wales through Canada confirmed this impression, not only

in the mind of the Duke and of the many able men who formed the Prince's suite, but of all the leading men in the country. It was marred by no unpleasant incident, except an attempt at Kingston and Toronto of the Orangemen to secure a semblance of countenance to their opinions by getting the Prince of Wales to pass under arches decorated with their symbols and party mottoes. This attempt, thanks to the tact and firmness of the Duke of Newcastle, entirely failed of success, and indeed it only served to elicit in other quarters a more enthusiastic recognition of the young Prince, who so effectively illustrated the freedom from party bias in which he had been trained. In writing to the Queen from Dwight, in the State of Illinois, on the 23rd of September, the Duke thus summed up the results of the Canadian visit:—

'Now the Canadian visit is concluded, he may pronounce it eminently successful, and may venture to offer Her Majesty his humble, but very hearty congratulations. He does not doubt that future years will clearly demonstrate the good that has been done. The attachment to the Crown of England has been greatly cemented, and other nations will have learned how useless it will be in case of war to tamper with the allegiance of the North American provinces, or to invade their shores. There is much in the population of all classes to admire, and for a good government to work upon, and the very knowledge that the acts of all will henceforth be more watched in England, because more attention has been drawn to the country, will do great good.

'The Duke of Newcastle is rejoiced to think that this is not the only good that has sprung out of this visit. It has done much good to the Prince of Wales himself, and the development of mind and habit of thought is very perceptible. The Duke of Newcastle will be much disappointed if your Majesty and the Prince Consort are not pleased with the change that has been brought about by this practical school, in which so many of the future duties of life have been forced upon the Prince's daily attention. He has certainly left a very favourable impression behind him.'

While the enthusiasm went on augmenting in Canada, the United States, which from the first had looked forward to the coming of the Prince of Wales among them with the utmost eagerness, were preparing to give him a welcome quite up to the level of that which he had received in the Dominion State. A pleasant record of the prevailing feeling was sent to the Prince Consort by M. Van de Weyer, in a letter to his father-in-law, Mr. Bates, from Mr. Davis, an American gentleman well known for the shrewdness and humour of the books which he published under the name of Major Downing. Writing from New York on the 29th of September, Mr. Davis says:—

'During my absence from town, arrangements were entered upon here to give the Prince a hearty welcome; and I found my name as chairman of one of the working Committees, which duty I have readily accepted. . . . We intend to do the thing rightly, and in all respects most agreeably to his Royal Highness, not only because he belongs to a most excellent family, but because he seems to be himself highly meritorious and of right promise. . . . The greatest difficulty we at present encounter is the want of a house big enough for a portion of our good citizens who desire to pay their respects to him. The structure we have selected is capable of containing six thousand, but, looking to wide crinolines and comfort, we do not intend admitting over three thousand for ball and supper.

'I have never witnessed a more unanimous desire to make the Prince's visit to us entirely agreeable to himself, and if we do not succeed it will not be our fault. . . . He is decidedly a popular character with us, and may consider himself a lucky lad if he escapes a nomination for President before he reaches his homeward-bound fleet. The funny part of the whole affair is to note the decided unwillingness of our people to be *shabbed* off by another title than "His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales," a real *up and down and out and out* Prince,[7] of the right stuff too, coupled with a hope that he will remain so for many many years;

[7] The Prince, it will be remembered, travelled as Baron Renfrew in the United States.

for there is not a living being more sincerely beloved by our people than his Royal mother, who, they think, cannot do wrong, even if she tried to do so. . . . I hope in course of time the whole "blessed family" of "the good Queen" may visit hers and our dominions, as I am quite sure the more intimately we know each other, the better friends we shall all become.'

Chicago was the first important town in the States visited by the Prince. It is thus the Duke of Newcastle, in writing to the Queen, described his reception there:—

'Enormous crowds were assembled in this city, which, though little more than a village thirty years ago, now contains about 150,000 inhabitants, but the utmost order prevailed, and indeed nothing could be more remarkable than the mixture of interest and good-humoured curiosity with respect and desire to conform to the expressed wish to avoid outward demonstrations.

'This is very much owing to a remarkable man, John Wentworth, who is now Mayor, and has a complete hold over the population, but much credit must also be given to the people themselves. The reception of the Prince in Chicago is invaluable, as it is by this time known all over the States, and will very much regulate the proceedings in other cities.'

From Cincinnati the Duke sends the same report of the warmth and good taste of the enormous crowds that turned out to meet the Prince. At Saint Louis they amounted to from 70,000 to 80,000:—

'Nothing could exceed the civility or kind demeanour of the people. None of the cheering and noisy enthusiasm of the loyal Canadians, but great curiosity to see the Prince, much excitement and interest, and great courtesy combined with order and self-respect, which were very remarkable. The same may be said of this great city. The friendly spirit of the people is the same, and the courtesy of the educated classes and of the civic authorities is most gratifying.'

Everywhere throughout the States the same spirit was observed.

On the 3rd of October the young Prince reached Washington, on a visit to the President. The most interesting incident of his stay at the seat of Government was an excursion on the 5th, in company with the President, to Mount Vernon, the home and the burial-place of Washington. It is thus the reporter of *The Times* speaks of the event:—

'Before this humble tomb the Prince, the President, and all the party stood uncovered. It is easy moralising on this visit, for there is something grandly suggestive of historical retribution in the reverential awe of the Prince of Wales, the great-grandson of George III., standing bareheaded at the foot of the coffin of Washington. For a few moments the party stood mute and motionless, and the Prince then proceeded to plant a chestnut by the side of the tomb. It seemed, when the Royal youth closed in the earth around the little germ, that he was burying the last faint trace of discord between us and our great brethren in the West.'

In New York the eager delight with which the young Prince was everywhere hailed may be said to have reached its highest point. 'His entry there,' *The Times* reporter wrote, was 'an ovation such as has seldom been offered to any monarch in ancient or modern times. It was not a reception. It was the grand impressive welcome of a mighty people. It was such a mingling of fervent, intense enthusiasm, of perfect good order, of warmth and yet kind respect, that I am fairly at a loss how to convey in words any adequate idea of this most memorable event.' Nor was cultured Boston, the last of the American cities visited by the Prince, behind the great commercial metropolis of the States in the warmth and splendour of its reception. To the last everything had gone well beyond all that could have been anticipated; and great indeed must have been the satisfaction of the Duke of Newcastle, as he reported the results of this most successful expedition in the following letter to the Queen from New York on the 14th of October:—

'The Duke of Newcastle presents his humble duty to your Majesty, and cannot say with what pleasure he writes this last letter to your Majesty from the continent of America, with everything that is agreeable to communicate, and nothing now at all likely to detract from the most wonderful and gratifying success of the visit to the United States.

'Your Majesty will remember that the Duke of Newcastle always expected a warm reception for the Prince of Wales, and never believed in the fears of insult and even mischief in this city which were entertained by many, but he certainly never ventured to hope for anything approaching the scene which occurred here three days ago—such a scene as probably was never witnessed before—the enthusiasm of much more than half a million of people, worked up almost to madness, and yet self-restrained within bounds of the most perfect courtesy, by the passage through their streets of a foreign Prince, not coming to celebrate a new-born alliance, or to share in the glories of a joint campaign, but solely as a private visitor, and as exhibiting indirectly only the friendly feelings of the country to which he belongs.

'Two causes have produced this remarkable result—the one is, the really warm affection for England, which has been growing in the hearts of the great mass of the natives of the United States, and which only required the genial influence of such an event as this visit to force into a vigorous expansion; and the second is the very remarkable love for your Majesty personally which pervades all classes in this country, and which has acted like a spell upon them when they found your Majesty's son actually amongst them.[8]

'There can be no doubt that the most important results will ensue from this happy event, and such as the ablest diplomatist

[8] In a letter to the writer from a distinguished American (General Meredith Read), dated 22nd June, 1878, it is said:—'A feeling of affectionate respect has always been entertained towards the Queen in America. This found expression last year when the President visited New England on the anniversary of one of our revolutionary battles, and Mr. Evarts, our Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, proposed the toast of the Queen; immediately the 40,000 people present sprang to their feet, and cheered enthusiastically.' This sentiment was again exemplified a little later at Norfolk, Virginia, where the Queen's name was also received with thunders of applause. Similar manifestations took place at Philadelphia at the opening of the Centennial Exhibition.

could not have brought about in a quarter of a century. The Duke of Newcastle does not doubt that the feelings of amity between the two countries will, in spite of the alien element which is so strong in this land, be such for some time to come, as to have an important bearing upon those events which it is too probable will soon arise in Europe.

'The Duke of Newcastle feels that your Majesty will read so full a report of what has occurred here and at Washington in *The Times*, that it is useless for him to attempt a description, which would require much more time than the heavy pressure of business in interviews and correspondence enables him to devote to it; but your Majesty may be assured that in each place there has been little room for adverse criticism. Thousands continue to follow the Prince wherever he goes, and to-day, in returning from church, the "Broadway" was densely crowded on both sides for more than a mile.

'The President's hospitality was in thoroughly good taste and most agreeable to all concerned. There is no doubt that pleasant impressions have been left on both sides. The old gentleman was quite touched at parting, and promised to write to your Majesty.'

The language of Mr. Charles Sumner, in a letter from Boston (23rd October) to Mr. Evelyn Denison, then Speaker of the House of Commons, of which a copy has been preserved by the Prince, is no less decided.

'You will have heard,' he wrote, 'something of the uprising of the people to welcome the Prince. But I doubt if any description can give you an adequate idea of its extent and earnestness. At every station on the railway there was an immense crowd, headed by the local authorities, while our national flags were blended together. I remarked to Dr. Acland that it "seemed as if a young heir long absent was returning to take possession." "It is more than that," said he, affected almost to tears. For the Duke of Newcastle, who had so grave a responsibility in the whole visit, it is a great triumph. I took the liberty of remarking to him that he was carrying home an unwritten treaty of amity and alliance between two great nations.'

[9] In an American paper of the day, the following passage occurs:—'All our reminiscences, the history, the poetry, the romance of England for ten centuries, are concentrated in the huzzas with which we greet the Prince of Wales.'

In the following letter President Buchanan fulfilled his intention of writing to the Queen:—

'*To Her Majesty Queen Victoria.*

'When I had the honour of addressing your Majesty in June last' (*ante*, p. 78), 'I confidently predicted a cordial welcome for the Prince of Wales throughout this country, should he pay us a visit on his return from Canada to England. What was then prophecy has now become history. He has been everywhere received with enthusiasm; and this is attributable not only to the very high regard entertained for your Majesty, but also to his own noble and manly bearing. He has passed through a long ordeal for a person of his years, and his conduct throughout has been such as became his age and station. Dignified, frank, and affable, he has conciliated, wherever he has been, the kindness and respect of a sensitive and discriminating people. His visit thus far has been all your Majesty would have desired; and I have no doubt it will so continue until the end.

'The Prince left us for Richmond this morning with the Duke of Newcastle and the other members of his wisely selected suite. I should gladly have prolonged his visit, had this been possible consistently with previous arrangements. In our domestic circle he won all hearts. His free and ingenuous intercourse with myself evinced both a kind heart and a good understanding. I shall ever cherish the warmest wishes for his welfare.

'The visit of the Prince to the tomb of Washington, and the simple but solemn ceremonies at this consecrated spot, will become an historical event, and cannot fail to exert a happy influence on the kindred people of the two countries.

'Miss Lane[10] desires to be kindly remembered to your Majesty.

[10] Miss Lane was the President's niece, and lived with him.

'With my respectful regards for the Prince Consort, I remain your Majesty's friend and obedient servant,

'JAMES BUCHANAN.

'Washington, 6th October, 1860.'

This letter was received with great satisfaction. In returning it to the Queen, Lord Palmerston wrote of it as doing 'equal honour to the good feelings and just appreciations of the person who wrote it, and to the Royal Prince to whom it relates.' Her Majesty's reply, which was drafted by the Prince, was submitted to both Lord Palmerston and Lord John Russell, and received their warm approval. It was as follows:—

'Windsor Castle, 19th November, 1860.

'My good Friend,—Your letter of the 6th ult. has afforded me the greatest pleasure, containing as it does such kind expressions with regard to my son, and assuring me that the character and object of his visit to you and to the United States have been fully appreciated, and that his demeanour and the feelings evinced by him have secured to him your esteem and the general good will of your countrymen.

I purposely delayed the answer to your letter until I should be able to couple with it the announcement of the Prince of Wales's safe return to his home. Contrary winds and stress of weather have much retarded his arrival, but we have been fully compensated for the anxiety which this long delay has naturally caused us, by finding him in such excellent health and spirits, and so delighted with all he has seen and experienced in his travels. He cannot sufficiently praise the great cordiality with which he has been everywhere greeted in your country, and the friendly manner in which you have received him; and whilst as a mother I am most grateful for the kindness shown him, I feel impelled to express at the same time, how deeply I have been touched by the many

demonstrations of affection towards myself personally, which his presence has called forth.

'I fully reciprocate towards your nation the feelings thus made apparent, and look upon them as forming an important link to connect two nations of kindred origin and character, whose mutual esteem and friendship must always have so material an influence upon their respective development and prosperity.

'The interesting and touching scene at the grave of General Washington, to which you allude, may be fitly taken as the type of our present feeling, and I trust of our future relations.

'The Prince Consort, who heartily joins in the expressions contained in this letter, wishes to be kindly remembered to you, as we both wish to be to Miss Lane.

'Believe me always your good friend,

'VICTORIA *Reg.*'

It only now remained for the Queen to express to the Duke of Newcastle the recognition by herself and the Prince Consort of the admirable manner in which he had performed the arduous and most delicate task, which he had brought to a successful close. This was conveyed in the following letter:—

'Windsor Castle, 19th November, 1860.

'The Duke of Newcastle knows already how high a sense we have ever entertained of the services he has rendered at all times to the Queen, but especially on the recent very important occasion of the Prince of Wales's visit to Canada and the United States, an event of the greatest importance but attended with considerable difficulties, which has, however, terminated in the most successful and gratifying manner. The Queen is anxious to mark these feelings publicly by offering to the Duke the Order of the Garter,

which she trusts he will have no hesitation in accepting. The Duke will be an extra Knight till a vacancy occurs, but the Queen did not wish to wait for that event, being anxious to mark her approbation at once.'

The Duke accepted the offer, to quote the words of his reply to the Queen, 'with great gratitude, not only for the offer, but for the mode in which it has been made. At the same time,' he added, 'he can say with the strictest truth that the words addressed to him by your Majesty on Friday last were an ample reward for any little service it may have been in his power to render to your Majesty and the Royal Family, and the chief value to him of the Garter will be that it is a public declaration to his fellow-subjects of those sentiments which your Majesty was pleased to express to him in private.' The Duke was invested at a Chapter of the Order on the 16th of December.

## CHAPTER CVIII.

THE defeat of the Royalists on the Garigliano (3rd November) was the death-blow to the Bourbon dynasty in Naples. It must have led to the immediate conclusion of the war, but for the intervention of the French fleet, which lay off the coast, with instructions to prevent the blockade of Gaëta by sea. But, not content with this, the French Admiral had kept the Sardinian fleet under Admiral Persano from enfilading, as it otherwise would have done, the road by which the defeated Royalist army fell back upon Gaëta, and so cutting off their retreat. This alone saved them from being taken prisoners. Nor was this all; for while preventing the blockade of Gaëta from the sea, where it was most vulnerable, it enabled the King to send off 14,000 of his army to Cività Vecchia, and to prolong his resistance, by being relieved of the difficulty of maintaining so large a force.

The motives of the French Emperor for interposing this check to the conclusion of the war were probably of a mixed character, in which irritation that the control of the Italian movement had slipped from his grasp, and dissatisfaction, that the success of Sardinia had overthrown his favourite project of a great Italian Confederation to be settled by an European Congress, may have played a part. The motive avowed through his Minister, M. Thouvenel, to Lord Cowley, was to give the King the opportunity of making an honourable capitulation and of saving his Majesty from becoming the prisoner of Sardinia. In any case the delay gave him an

opportunity of finding out whether any of the Great Powers of the Continent were disposed to interfere to reinstate the Bourbon dynasty, or at all events to prevent the annexation to Sardinia of the whole of Southern Italy.

On this point he was not allowed to remain long in doubt. From his retreat in Gaëta Francis II. addressed an appeal to the Great European Powers, with the purpose of 'ascertaining what their intention were with regard to the last imminent crisis of his monarchy.' The answer of the English Government (26th of November) was, that they did not think it was any part of the duty of the Powers of Europe, and that they could not justly be expected, to compel by force the obedience of subjects to sovereigns who had not succeeded in securing affection towards their persons, or respect for their authority. Neither did the other Powers, however much they may have sympathised with the fallen monarch, who both then, and afterwards, bore his reverse of fortune with admirable spirit, show any inclination to come to his rescue. Every day, therefore, that Gaëta held out only served to keep a foregone conclusion in needless suspense, causing fruitless waste in men and money, and delaying the restoration of the country to the tranquillity and order of which it stood sorely in need.

The continuance of the French fleet at Gaëta was, moreover, a direct violation of the principle of non-intervention, to which the Emperor and his Government were pledged. This argument was continuously pressed upon them by the English Government. The Emperor could not escape its force; and, indeed, in his speech to the French Chambers on the 4th of February, 1861, he frankly admitted that 'the presence of his ships at Gaëta obliged him to infringe every day that principle of neutrality which he had proclaimed, and gave room for erroneous interpretations. This was an admission which he knew would be unwelcome to a large body of his subjects; for the sudden growth of a great neighbouring kingdom,

gravely affecting the balance of power in Europe, and possibly to the prejudice of France, was viewed with anything but satisfaction by a large and influential section of the French people. But England had spoken out resolutely, and the French Emperor valued her alliance too much, to widen the already existing estrangement between that country and himself by declining her appeal to carry out loyally the principle of non-intervention in Italian affairs to which he was committed. Accordingly, early in December the Emperor urged upon Francis II. the propriety of his leaving Gaëta and abandoning the struggle. The advice was not taken. On the 19th of January, 1861, the last of the French ships at Gaëta was withdrawn. Immediately the blockade was enforced by Admiral Persano, and on the 13th of February, the fortress capitulated, the King and Queen embarking at the same time on a French steamer, and proceeding by way of Cività Vecchia to Rome, where they took up their residence.

For the time the Emperor of the French was chiefly concerned with the state of affairs at home, where the condition of the National finances imperiously prescribed economy and retrenchment. He had also decided on introducing various reforms, allowing greater publicity and freedom of debate to the discussions in the Senate and Legislative Body, and giving them a voice in the discussion of the national policy at home and abroad. This was effected by a decree (dated 24th November) which proceeded on a recital of the Emperor's wish 'to give to the great bodies of the State a more direct participation in the general policy of his government, and a striking testimony of his confidence.' The measure announced in the decree was an important step towards giving, for the first time since 1852, a voice in the Chambers to public opinion. It was silent about the existing restrictions on the press; but these were partially relaxed in their application, under the instructions of a circular addressed in the beginning

of December to the Préfets by Count Persigny, who, simultaneously with the issue of the decree, had been appointed Minister of the Interior. A freedom, resting upon sufferance and which, if exercised, might at any time be punished by the enforcement of the existing law, was felt, however, to be of little value, while it was in effect an avowal of the necessity for a change in the law.

The results of the commercial treaty with England had begun to show themselves in the increase of activity in the manufactures and commerce of France. The intimacy thus initiated between the two countries was further augmented by the abolition (16th of December) of the passport system as against all British subjects—a measure admirably calculated to conciliate many of the misgivings which had sprung up as to the sincerity of the Emperor's professions of good-will to England, and his ambition to make France great by the development of the arts of peace.

Still in the background lurked the question of the fate of Venetia—the apple of discord for Europe. Garibaldi had retired from Naples to Caprera (9th of November), two days after he had entered it along with Victor Emmanuel. But in doing so he had issued a passionate appeal to his countrymen to prepare for renewing the struggle for Venetia in the ensuing March. Nothing was further from the thoughts of those who were charged with the responsibility of consolidating the gains which had been already won for the cause of Italian unity, than an enterprise of this kind, and nothing could have been more embarrassing. To them the fact of the presence of Austria on their frontiers, armed to the teeth, was for the time an advantage, holding in check as it did the restless spirits who refused to see the importance of making their past victories secure, and thus giving the administrators of the new kingdom time to restore order, and organise an efficient administration in countries where the

self-reliance and self-restraint of a free people had hitherto been unknown.

Such was the position of affairs when the Prince (29th of November) wrote to Baron Stockmar the following letter:—

'You will be glad to hear how much improved we found both our sons after their long voyages. The Prince of Wales is somewhat grown, looks well, and seems to have been not a little impressed by the many interesting things he has seen.

'Alfred is also grown, although not much. . . . Unfortunately he must go to sea again on the 15th of January, so as to arrive in the West Indies during the healthy season.

'The Prince Louis of Hesse is here on a visit.[1] The young people seem to like each other He is very simple, natural, frank, and thoroughly manly. . . .

'Young Hohenzollern has gone to Lisbon to see his bride. He was here with Louis of Hesse the first two days.

'The recent French reforms will be very variously construed. . . . They point, in my opinion, to a general want of decision and clearness of view in the mind of the Emperor, who, being outflanked by circumstances in many of his ideas, is desirous of creating new impressions, with a view of taking his cue from them as to the course he shall pursue for the future. . . .

'You too will have been annoyed at Lord John's Note. A country like this ought not to help to increase the general confusion of what is legal and right, but should uphold the moral law. The craving of individual statesmen to thrust themselves into the van in the general movement, and to make themselves conspicuous, is a constant temptation to mischief. . . .

[1] Prince Louis arrived at Windsor Castle on the 24th of December, along with Leopold, Hereditary Prince of Hohenzollern-Sigmaringen; the latter on his way to Lisbon, as a suitor for the hand of Antonia, sister of the King of Portugal. His suit was successful; and they were married 12th September, 1861.

'Sir. George Lewis[2] said to me lately, "I find that the Cabinet is an institution intended to prevent individual Ministers from immortalising themselves at the expense of the country." This would be a valuable institution if it ever fulfilled its destiny.

'Our internal questions are all completely asleep, and since Garibaldi quitted the stage, the great Italian drama has ceased to be so attractive to the world at large. . . .'

A few days later the Prince had occasion to inform the same friend of an event in which he knew he would take the warmest interest. This was the betrothal of the Princess Alice to Prince Louis of Hesse. The liking which, as we have seen, had been established on their former meeting, ripened rapidly on more intimate acquaintance into a deeper feeling. The Queen and Prince had watched its progress with satisfaction, for they saw in the young Prince the qualities which satisfied them that they might entrust their daughter to his care without misgiving.

In *Leaves from a Journal* Her Majesty has told how the Crown Prince of Prussia, at the crisis of his wooing of the Princess Royal, 'picked a piece of white heather (the emblem of "good luck"), which he gave to her; and how this enabled him to make an allusion to his hopes and wishes, as they rode

[2] What the Queen and Prince thought of Sir George Lewis may best be told in the words of a letter of condolence on his death, written by the Queen (15th April, 1863) to his widow, Lady Theresa Lewis:—

'To me, dear Lady Theresa, this is a heavy loss, a severe blow! My own darling had the very highest esteem, regard, and respect for dear Sir Cornewall Lewis; we delighted in his society; we admired his great honesty and fearless straightforwardness. We had the greatest confidence in him, and since my terrible misfortune, I clung particularly to characters like his, which are so rare. I felt he was a friend, and I looked to him as a support, and a wise and safe counsellor. He is snatched away, and his loss to me and to the country is irreparable. How little did I think, when I talked *to him* the last time here and he spoke so kindly of the extraordinary outburst of loyalty, and of *my* popularity, as he so kindly expressed it, that I should never see his kind face again



H. R. H. The Princess Alice

1860

Engraved by Frances Holl from a Photograph by Mayall

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down Glen Girnoch.' The Queen's Diary presents a scarcely less interesting picture of how the Princess Alice was won (30th November):—

'After dinner, while talking to the gentlemen, I perceived Alice and Louis talking before the fireplace more earnestly than usual, and, when I passed to go to the other room, both came up to me, and Alice in much agitation said he had proposed to her, and he begged for my blessing. I could only squeeze his hand, and say "Certainly," and that we would see him in our room later. Got through the evening, working as well as we could. Alice came to our room, . . . agitated but quiet. . . . Albert sent for Louis to his room—went first to him, and then called Alice and me in. . . . Louis has a warm, noble heart. We embraced our dear Alice and praised her much to him. He pressed and kissed my hand, and I embraced him. After talking a little we parted; a most touching, and to me most sacred moment.'

Three days afterwards (3rd December) the Prince wrote to Baron Stockmar:—

'Close on the heels of my last letter comes this, to announce to you the betrothal of Alice to the Prince Louis of Hesse. You, like ourselves, will have expected this event, but you will not the less share our joy at it, when you are told that the young people are sincerely attached to each other, and justify the hope that they will one day find their mutual happiness in marriage. We like Louis better every day, because of his unaffectedly genial and cordial temper, his great modesty, and a very childlike nature, united with strict morality, and genuine goodness and dignity.

'You will be grieved about poor Bunsen.[3] I had a very

[3] The Chevalier Bunsen had died at Bonn, aged sixty-nine, on 25th of November. 'A great loss for science,' is the Prince's remark in his Diary for the day.

friendly letter from his widow, communicating the sad intelligence. . . .

'I hope you are now tolerably well; the weather is truly by no means propitious, and for the last fortnight I have been suffering with my stomach.'

The next day (4th of December) the Queen and Prince received a visit from the Empress of the French, who had come to England upon a tour in search of health. 'She looked,' says the Queen's Diary, 'thin and pale, . . . and she was as kind and amiable and natural as she had always been.' The Empress was travelling *incognita*, and her reception at the palace was strictly private. 'What a contrast,' says the same record, 'to her visit in 1855! Then all state and excitement. Thousands on thousands out, and the brightest sunshine. Now all in private, and a dismal, foggy, wet December day!'

Next day the Prince found himself seriously unwell, with violent sickness and shiverings. Towards evening he became rather better, but he was, to quote the Queen's Diary, 'very weak.' 'Alice,' Her Majesty goes on to say, 'received quantities of kind congratulatory letters,—a very dear one from uncle Leopold, and a very kind one from Lord Abercorn, who gave poor Lord Aberdeen my message about Alice's marriage, when he said, more distinctly than he had spoken for a long time, "I have heard Prince Louis very highly spoken of." This touched us much.'

The message from their old and loyal Minister and friend was all the more deeply prized, that the life spent long and honourably in his country's service was now ebbing fast away. On the 14th of December he died. In writing of it a few days afterwards to King Leopold, the Queen said, 'The death of our dear and excellent friend Aberdeen has grieved us much, though we expected it for some time. He is a great

loss.' By no person were Lord Aberdeen's high qualities more appreciated than by the Prince; and the coincidence has been noted that he was himself taken from the world on the first anniversary of the veteran statesman's death.[4]

On the 6th the Prince had so far recovered that he was able to resume his usual habits; and on that day he wrote his accustomed weekly letter to his daughter at Berlin. In this he says:—

'I was too miserable yesterday to be able to hold my pen. As, however, I have not written to you since the great Alician event, you would regard me as not merely unwell and stupid, but devoid of feeling as well, if I were to be quite silent. Alice and Louis are as happy as mortals can be, and I need scarcely say this makes my heart as a father glad. There is so much that reminds me vividly of your bridehood, and yet again there is so much that is different. Alice is so much older than you were; Louis, on the contrary, younger than Fritz. We have made our first experiences, and proceed according to *precedent*. What ease and satisfaction for English people!

'Louis is truly good, simple, and modest, and Alice behaves admirably.'

The attack had been a severe one, more severe than the Prince in this letter cared to indicate, and it was many days before he threw off its effects. Still, weak as he was, he allowed himself no repose from labour.

[4] In a letter (14th December, 1874) to the writer from the Hon. Douglas A. Gordon, he says: 'My father, Lord Aberdeen, died on the 14th of December, 1860, late at night. We sent a message, as in duty bound, early in the morning to Windsor, to inform the Queen and Prince; and, before half-past nine, we received an answer from the Prince (written before breakfast), full of kindness and sympathy.' A remark of Lord Aberdeen's, late in life, recorded in one of the Prince Consort's letters, deserves to be laid to heart, as a memento and a warning. 'Wisdom? Why, this country is not governed by wisdom, but by talk. Who can talk will govern.'

Copious evidence of this is supplied by the Prince's papers, which show that he was actively at work on the multifarious subjects which claimed his daily attention, by the 8th, and before he could have recovered from the exhaustion of illness. Thus we find him writing to Lord Palmerston on that day upon a subject in which both were keenly interested,—the inferiority at that moment of the English naval force as compared with that of France. For some time the Prince had been pressing this state of things on Lord Palmerston's attention, and his anxiety had been quickened by authentic intelligence which had just reached the Government that the French were at that moment laying down a large number of iron-plated vessels, on the model of the *Gloire*, a vessel carrying 36 guns, capable of discharging a broadside of the weight of 2,520 pounds. 'The French,' he had written to Lord Palmerston (21st of October) 'are evidently making great preparations. Of the renewed vigour with which they are now again prosecuted I heard also at Brussels.' Further inquiries confirmed this conclusion, and copy of a Report (1st of December) by Lord Clarence Paget, sent to the Queen, revealed the fact that, just as in 1858 we had found to our dismay that the French equalled, if not surpassed us in the number and strength of line-of-battle ships, so now they possessed in iron-plated vessels, building and built, a force considerably more than double our own.

The facts revealed by this Memorandum were sufficiently alarming to excite the Prince to write to Lord John Russell (8th of December) in more point-blank terms than were usual with him. 'It is a perfect disgrace to our country,' he said, 'and particularly to our Admiralty, that we can do no more than hobble after the French, turning up our noses proudly at their experiments and improvements, and, when they are established as sound, getting horribly frightened, and trying

by wasting money to catch up lost time, and all the while running serious risk of our security.'[5]

A few hours brought to the Prince a letter from the Duke of Somerset, then at the head of the Admiralty, with intelligence that his department was now taking active measures to increase the number of ironclads. Its tenor may be gathered from the following letter which the Prince wrote in reply:—

'Windsor Castle, 10th December, 1860.

'My dear Duke,—I have received your letter of the 8th, and am glad to see that you are fully alive to the necessity of our at once entering into contracts for a further supply of iron-cased ships, to bring us up again to the French, who have unfortunately now got a year's start of us, which I am afraid they will keep, unless we make *very* great exertions and are more successful than we have been at present. It must be borne in mind, however, that numerical equality with France is still real inferiority. If these iron ships can destroy stone batteries, and stand shot at bombarding distance from our ports, we shall require a number to defend Malta and Gibraltar, which will be cut off from those needed to defend our coasts against the fleet which the French can concentrate in the Channel. Our foreign ports will require defence and support as well.

'We must at the same time always presume that a co-operation of Russia with France against us is not unlikely, and the Russians are beginning to build these same formidable ships! The number we ought to possess is therefore very great indeed.

[5] How much anxiety and how much money would England have been saved, by keeping in mind the principle expressed in the following sentences of Field-Marshal Count Moltke? 'To leave a country defenceless is of all crimes the greatest a government can commit. It must not be forgotten that the results of many years of economy in peace, may all be lost in one year of war.'

'I hope you will take the resolution and give the order to build one of Captain Coles's ships *at once*, with such modifications as may be suggested to him. I quite agree with you that it would not be prudent to restrict ourselves to vessels of this novel construction, but we should give the country the benefit of possessing some such. We are only copying the French, and that only after having for a long time declared their schemes quite impracticable. Should Captain Coles's plan succeed, his ships will be vastly superior in a great many points to those we are now building; and the responsibility on the part of the Government is very great, in incurring periodically an enormous expense to get up a large force of a kind of ships just going to be superseded.'

The allusion in the last sentence led the Duke of Somerset to send to the Prince a Memorandum showing that the number of our wooden ships was not in excess of what was required to make them equal to the strength of France and Russia in the same class of vessels. In returning this Memorandum the Prince wrote (11th of December), 'The building of wooden ships in sufficient number to keep up our pre-eminence in these ships was certainly most wise and necessary, but we began our exertions only after the French had passed us, and our relative weakness had become apparent. It is the same now with the iron-cased ships. The Memorandum reminds us that in former years the number of British ships of the line and of frigates was double the number possessed by France. This is the relative strength which is necessary for this country. I see that the Spaniards have laid down an iron-cased frigate at their port at Ferrol. All Powers are, therefore, beginning the new race, in which we cannot afford to be beaten.'

Attention had now been fully roused to the importance of this element in the national defences, and the action of the Government in repairing our deficiencies was quickened by

the very unsettled aspect of affairs in Europe and America during the following year.

It was the 9th of December before the Prince was able to go out, a significant sign how sharp the attack of illness had been. He refers to it again in writing to the Princess Royal a few days later:—

'Windsor Castle, 11th December, 1860.

'. . . Pardon the expression, for properly speaking there are no agreeable pains (*Plagen*). I am now quit of mine, and begin by degrees to feel something like myself again (*wieder menschlich zu fühlen*).

'My attack was the real English cholera, a personage with whom I had not the smallest curiosity to make acquaintance, and I hope not to renew it. . . .

'Louis already begins to say and to complain that the marriage is unnecessarily postponed, and that the interval ought to be abridged. Such is man! He desires to see the fairest moments of his life curtailed, because he knows the issue and longs to leap towards it at once.[6] How wisely is it ordained that in general we do not know our destiny and end; but for this no one would wish to live.'

A few days afterwards the Prince received from Berlin a Memorandum from his daughter, which she had written upon the advantages of a law of Ministerial responsibility, with the view of removing the apprehensions entertained in high quarters at the Prussian Court as to the expediency of a contemplated measure of this kind. The Prince must have read this paper with no ordinary satisfaction and pride. It would have been remarkable as the work of an experienced statesman; and, as the fruit of the liberal political views in which the Prince had been at pains to train its author, it

[6] Had the Prince in his mind Schiller's lines? '*Mit dem Gürtel, mit dem Schleier, Reisst sich der schöne Wahn entzwei.*'

must have filled his mind with the happiest auguries for her fulfilment of the great career which lay before her. 'It would have delighted your heart to read it,' were his words, in writing to Baron Stockmar. The argument of the Memorandum had been so complete and exhaustive, that it left the Prince but little to touch upon in writing about it to his daughter. But in his reply his delight in her work overflows into illustrations and expansions of her argument which must have been most valuable as confirming from the highest experience the conclusions which the young Princess had thought out for herself. As an exposition of the Prince's own views on an important topic, the following translation of this reply will be read with interest :—

'Windsor Castle, 18th December, 1860.

'Your letter with the Memorandum as to the law of Ministerial responsibility has given me great pleasure. I send the Memorandum back, as you wish, but I have kept a copy of it for myself. It is remarkably clear and complete, and does you the greatest credit. I agree with every word of it, and feel sure it must convince every one who is open to conviction from sound logic, and prepared to follow what sound logic dictates.

'The notion that the responsibility of his advisers impairs the monarch's dignity and importance (*Würde*) is a complete mistake. Here we have no law of Ministerial responsibility, for the simple reason that we have no written Constitution, but this responsibility flows as a logical necessity from the dignity of the Crown and of the Sovereign. "The King can do wrong," says the legal axiom, and hence it follows that somebody must be responsible for his measures, if these be contrary to law or injurious to the country's welfare. Ministers here are not responsible *quâ* Ministers, that is, *quâ* officials (as such they are responsible to the Crown); but they are responsible

to Parliament and the people, or the country, as "advisers of the Crown." Any one of them may advise the Crown, and whoever does so is responsible to the country for the advice he has given.

'The so-called "accountability" of Ministers to Parliament does not arise out of an abstract principle of responsibility, but out of the practical necessity which they are under of obtaining the consent of Parliament to legislation and to the voting of taxes, and, as an essential to this end, of securing its confidence. In practice Ministers are liable to account for the way and manner in which they have administered the laws which they, conjointly with Parliament, have made, and for the way they have expended the moneys that have been voted for definite objects. They are bound to furnish explanations, to justify their proceedings, to satisfy reasonable scruples, and the answer, "We have, as dutiful servants, obeyed the Sovereign," will not be accepted. "Have you acted upon conviction, or have you not?" is the question. "If you have not, then are you evil servants of the Crown, who counsel and do what you consider wrong or unjust, with a view to retain your snug places, or to win the favour of the Sovereign." And, this being so, Parliament as a matter of course withdraws its confidence from them.

'Herein, too, lies that Ministerial power of which Sovereigns are so much afraid. They can say, "We will not do this or that which the Sovereign wishes, because we cannot be responsible for it." But why should a Sovereign see anything here to be afraid of? To him it is in truth the best of safeguards. A really loyal servant should do nothing for which he is not prepared to answer, even though his master desires it! This practical responsibility is of the utmost advantage to the Sovereign. Make independence, not subservience, the essential of service, and you compel the Minister to keep his soul free towards the Sovereign, you

ennoble his advice, you make him staunch and patriotic, while time-servers, the submissive instruments of a monarch's extreme wishes and commands, may lead, and often have led him, to destruction.

'But to revert to the law of responsibility. This ought to be in effect a safeguard for law itself. As such it is superfluous in this country, where law reigns, and where it would never occur to any one that this could be otherwise. But upon the Continent it is of the highest importance; as where the Government is an outgrowth of a relation of supremacy and subordination between Sovereign and subject, and the servant, trained in ideas natural to this relation, does not know which to obey—the law or the Sovereign—the existence of such a law would deprive him of the excuse which, should he offend the law, and so be guilty of a crime, is ready to his hand in the phrase, "The Sovereign ordered it so,—I have merely obeyed!" while it would be a protection to the Sovereign that his servants, if guilty of a crime, should not be able to saddle him with the blame of it.

'Every transgression of the law is in law a crime. The Constitution of a State is the State's fundamental law, upon which all other laws rest. Now if the State imposes certain punishments upon murder, theft, perjury, it is only against the transgression of individual laws that these are directed. But why should it be in the power of any one to assume that the transgression of the State's fundamental law is to go unpunished, and the transgressors to find protection in the mere will of the Sovereign? Let this be so, and all law and justice must come to an end.

'And now a word about the patriarchal relation of kings to their people and about personal government.[7] The patri-

[7] The Princess had dealt in her Memorandum with the proposition, that 'the patriarchal relation in which monarchs of old were supposed to stand towards their people was preferable to the Constitutional system, which interposes the Minister between the Sovereign and his subjects.

archal relation is pretty much like the idyllic life of the Arcadian shepherds, a figure of speech and not much more. It was the fashionable phrase of an historical transition-period. Monarchy in the days of Attila, of Charlemagne, of the Hohenstaufen, of the Austrian Emperors, of Louis XI., XII., XIII., XIV., XV. &c., was as little like a patriarchal relation as anything could be. On the contrary it was sovereignty based upon spoliation, war, murder, oppression, and massacre. That relation was sedulously developed in the small German States, whose rulers were little more than great landed proprietors, during a short period in the last century, and was cherished out of a sentimental feeling. It then gave way before the Voltairian philosophy during the reigns of Frederick II., Joseph II., Louis XVI., &c., was turned topsy-turvy by the French Revolution, and finally extinguished in the military despotism of Napoleon. In the great war of liberation the people and their princes stood by one another in struggling for the establishment of civic freedom, first against the foreign oppressor, and then as citizens in their own country; and the treaties of 1815, as well as the appeal to the people in 1813, decreed constitutional government in every country. The Charter was granted in France, and special constitutions were promised in all the States: even to Poland the promise of one was made, although there, as well as in Prussia and Austria, that promise was not kept. Then came the Holy Alliance and introduced reaction into Germany, France, Spain, and Italy, by dint of sword and Congress (in 1817–1823). Once more the patriarchal relation was fostered with the sentimentalism of the Kotzebue school, and the betrayed peoples were required to become good children, because the Princes styled themselves good fathers! The July Revolution, and all that has taken place since then, sufficiently demonstrate that the peoples neither will nor can play the part of children.

'As for the personal government of absolute Sovereigns, that is a pure illusion. Nowhere does history present us with such cases of government by Ministers and favourites as in the most absolute monarchies, because nowhere can the Minister play so safe a game. A Court cabal is the only thing he has to fear, and he is well skilled in the ways by which this is to be strangled. History is so full of examples that I should be ashamed to cite them. . . . Recent instances will present themselves to your mind, where the personal discredit into which the Sovereign has fallen makes the maintenance of the monarchy, not as a form of government, but as an effective State machine, all but impossible. When, as in the case of the King of Naples, this result has arisen, all that people are able to say in defence, is, "He was surrounded by a bad set, he was badly advised, he did not know the state the country was in." To what purpose, then, is personal government, if a man in his own person knows nothing and learns nothing?

'The Sovereign should give himself no trouble about details, but exercise a broad general supervision, and see to the settlement of the principles on which action is to be based. This he can, nay, must do, where he has responsible Ministers, who are under the necessity of obtaining his sanction to the system which they pursue and intend to uphold in Parliament. This the personally ruling Sovereign cannot do, because he is smothered in details, does not see the wood for the trees, and has no occasion to come to an agreement with his Ministers about principles and systems, which to both him and them can only appear to be a great burden and superfluous nuisance.

'I will now make an end of my dissertation and set you free, but I could not make it shorter. "If I had had more time, I should have been shorter," said Mr. Fox, after making

a long speech, and many are the men who have the same tale to tell.'[8]

In a letter of the 22nd of November, 1863, from Lord Palmerston to the late Sir Charles Phipps, in reply to a communication from that gentleman on behalf of the Queen, the following passage occurs, which has a twofold interest from its concurrence in the views developed in this letter, and its testimony to the fact that they had been uniformly acted upon by the Queen, and inculcated by the Prince:—

'As to the Queen,' Lord Palmerston writes, 'her steady adherence to and studious observance of the principles and practice of the Constitution have, during the whole of her reign, been appreciated and admired by men of all political parties.

'One great security for the throne in this country is the maxim that the Sovereign can do no wrong. This does not mean that no wrong can be done; but it means that, as the Sovereign accepts and acts by the advice of those Ministers who, for the time being, enjoy the confidence of the Crown, it is those Ministers, and not the Sovereign personally, upon whom must fall the blame or the criticism which any acts of the Royal Prerogative may produce. There is scarcely any action of the power of the Crown to which some persons or some parties would not object; and if the objectors could throw upon the person of the Sovereign the blame, which they may be led by their view of the matter to attach to the action of the Prerogative, the result would be very injurious to our monarchical institutions. A strict observance of these fundamental principles does not, however, preclude the Sovereign from seeking from all quarters from whence it can be obtained the fullest and most accurate information regarding matters upon which the responsible Ministers may from time to time tender advice, and upon which it is not only right but useful that the Sovereign

[8] Mr. Fox only said what had been often said before. Probably he took the idea from Pascal, in the sixteenth of his *Provincial Letters*. '*Je n'ai fait celle-ci plus longue que parce que je n'ai pas eu le loisir de la faire plus courte.*'

should form an opinion, to be discussed with the Ministers, if it should differ from the tendered advice.'

The Prince's conviction could scarcely have been stated more strongly and clearly than in these words. He held that in the power to tender advice, based upon the best and fullest information, and upon the special knowledge derived from that continuous experience which Ministers, by quitting office from time to time, can never command to the same degree as the Sovereign, consisted the specific function and the duty of a Constitutional Sovereign. But the opinion of the Sovereign having been once frankly expressed, and discussed by the Cabinet, the Cabinet's decision was thenceforth to be loyally accepted as conclusive.

A few days later we find the Prince giving to his daughter a further lesson in the theory of government. He writes (26th December):—

'The article in the *Kreuz-Zeitung* which you send expresses in plain terms the view that *Monarchy* as an institution has for that party a value only so long as it is based upon arbitrary will; and so these people arrive at precisely the same confession of faith as the Red democrats, by reason of which a Republic is certain to prove neither more nor less than an arbitrary despotism.[9] Freedom and order, which are set up as political antitheses, are, on the contrary, in fact, synonymous, and the necessary consequences of *legality*.[10] If, therefore, upon the one side the binding power of the law is viewed with jealousy as a limitation (*Beschränkung*) of

[9] '*N'est-on jamais tyran qu'avec un diadème?*' wrote André Chénier, himself a victim to demagogic tyranny.

[10] These words will recall to the student of Goethe his well-known lines:

*In der Beschränkung zeigt sich erst der Meister,*
*Und das Gesetz nur kann uns Freiheit geben.*

He, only he the master is, who knows
Upon himself restriction to impose,
And law alone it is can make us free.

the government, and upon the other as a limitation of the popular will, the fiery advocates of these doctrines will have no true order and no true liberty. "The majesty of the law" is an idea which upon the Continent is not yet comprehended, probably because people cannot realise to themselves a dead thing as the supreme power, and seek for *personal* power in government or people. And yet virtue and morality are also dead things, which nevertheless have a prerogative and a vocation to govern living men—*divine laws*, upon which our human laws ought to be moulded.'

On the 15th of December the welcome tidings reached England by telegram from St. Petersburg of the successful close of the English and French expedition to China (*ante*, vol. iv. p. 307), by the signature at Pekin (24th of October) of the Treaty of Tien-tsin, and of a Convention securing further favourable conditions for England. A few days later (25th of December) the details of what had been concluded were received, and two days afterwards Lord Elgin's Secretary, Mr. Henry B. Loch, reached England with the Treaty and Convention. On the 29th he was received by the Queen and Prince at Windsor Castle. 'What he had to tell us,' the Prince notes in his Diary, 'was most interesting.'[11] Mr. Loch, it will be remembered, was one of those who, by an act of gross treachery, had been taken prisoner by the Chinese General Sang-ko-lin-sin, when he had gone to the Chinese camp with Mr., now Sir Henry, Parkes and others, to arrange, upon the invitation of the Chinese authorities, for Lord Elgin proceeding with an escort to Pekin. The story he had to tell of the sufferings of himself and Mr. Parkes was, indeed, of no ordinary interest. But more sad were the details he brought of the fate of several of those who had been made prisoners

[11] It was subsequently published as the *Personal Narrative of Occurrences during Lord Elgin's Second Embassy to China.* By Henry Brougham Loch. London, 1860.

at the same time. The chief of these were Mr. De Norman, *attaché* of the Hon. Frederick Bruce, Mr. Bowlby, *The Times'* correspondent, Captain Brabazon, and Lieutenant Anderson. These had all been either killed, or sunk under the maltreatment to which they had been subjected. The same fate had overtaken ten out of nineteen troopers, who had formed their escort.

The retribution which followed upon this act of treachery had been swift and decisive. The same day on which the arrest was made, Sang-ko-lin-sin was completely routed. Lord Elgin refused to negotiate unless the prisoners were returned, and on the 25th of September he informed Prince Kung, the Emperor's brother, that unless this were done within three days, the Convention signed at Tang-chow, and the ratification of the Treaty of Tien-tsin exchanged at Pekin, the Allied forces would advance to the assault of the capital. Finding these demands evaded, the army advanced, and on the 6th of October the Emperor's Summer Palace was taken. Two days afterwards, Mr. Parkes, Mr. Loch, and the other prisoners confined in Pekin were restored, and on the 12th the city was thrown open to the Allies. When, however, the truth as to the fate of the rest of the prisoners came to be known, and it was found that they had been brought to the Summer Palace and subjected to the severest tortures there, Lord Elgin resolved to burn the Palace to the ground, and to exact a heavy indemnity for the benefit of those who had suffered, and of the families of the murdered men.

This resolution was carried into effect. The ratifications of the Treaty and Convention were duly exchanged, and the Allied forces evacuated Pekin on the 5th of November. Thus a costly and hazardous expedition was brought to a close, which might be regarded as eminently successful, establishing as it did improved commercial relations between Great Britain and China, and, what was of no little impor-

tance to the development of our colonial possessions, placing the emigration of Chinese coolies on a recognised and satisfactory footing.

And now again Christmas, ever a happy time in the Royal home, had come round, when for a few hours at least the cares of State were banished in the exchange of kindly courtesies and in the simple pleasures of a loving family circle. To her uncle at Brussels the Queen wrote on Christmas Day:—

'Let me begin this letter by wishing you a very happy Christmas, which is a really true winter's day here, with twenty-two degrees of frost, and everything white with the frozen fog of yesterday evening on all the branches.[12] There is much enjoyment in skating.

'The *Bescheerung* [distribution of Christmas gifts] yesterday evening was a very happy one; our dear young couple not the least amongst the many happy ones.

'Affairs in Italy are in a sadly complicated state, and one does not in the least see the end of it all.

'The news received last night from China are most satisfactory, except as regards the beheading of two more of the poor prisoners. Lord Elgin has done extremely well, and deserves much praise. They are a very distinguished family.

'Affie leaves us to-morrow on a flying visit to Vicky and Ernest, returning again on the 6th. On his way back he hopes to be allowed to pay his respects to you for a moment; but he cannot sleep at Brussels, for he is very much hurried, having to leave us again, alas! on the 18th of January, for the West Indies and North America.'

[12] Christmas eve was the coldest night, and Christmas day the coldest day, recorded in England for fifty years. In Staffordshire, the thermometer registered 15 degrees, and at Pennicuik, near Edinburgh, 14 degrees below zero.

The next day the Prince wrote to his daughter at Berlin:—

'Again have we missed you greatly at our Christmas table. "Wir zählten die Häupter unserer Lieben, und sieh! es fehlte ein theures Haupt!"[13] Oh! if you, with Fritz and the children, were only with us! Louis was an accession. He is a very dear good fellow, who pleases us better and better daily. In my abstraction I call him "Fritz." *Your Fritz* must not take it amiss, for it is only the personification of a beloved, newly-bestowed, full-grown son. . . .

'But to return to the dear Christmas festival! Your gifts which were there have caused the highest delight, and those we have yet to expect will be looked for with impatience. To the latter belong Wilhelm's bust, Fritz's boar's head—for which in the meantime I beg you will give the lucky huntsman my hearty thanks. Wilhelm shall be placed in the light you wish when he issues (I hope unbroken) from his dusty box. The album, which arrived yesterday morning, is very precious to us, as it enables us to live altogether beside you —in imagination. . . .

'Prejudice walking to and fro in flesh and blood is my horror, and, alas, a phenomenon so common; and people plume themselves so much upon their prejudices, as signs of decision of character and greatness of mind, nay, of true patriotism; and all the while they are simply the product of narrowness of intellect and narrowness of heart.'

At such a time Baron Stockmar was sure not to be forgotten. To him the Prince wrote (28th of December):—

'I now send you my best wishes for the new year, on paper unhappily, and cannot press you by the hand as I used

[13] *Er zählte die Häupter seiner Lieben,*
*Und sieh! ihm fehlte kein theures Haupt.*

His dear ones' heads he numbered o'er,
And lo! not one was wanting there.—SCHILLER'S *Song of the Bell.*

to do so often in days gone by. May you have every reason to be satisfied with 1861, and find in this year a type of many yet to come! I regret you will not see Alfred, who has only three days to spare, and will find the Court at Gotha when he arrives. He started for Berlin two evenings since, and must have arrived there to-day by the time I am now writing (8 A.M.).

'Our dear bridegroom leaves us to-day, and the tears shed will not be few. I like him very much! there is in his character a strong undercurrent of morality and sincerity; he has a good heart, an unaffected, frank nature, and a child-like freshness of disposition. . . .

'The Prince of Wales is to go to Cambridge for a year; the academic year in this country is only five months, with seven months' vacation, and of the five (as there are four terms) more than half is lost with beginning and ending.

'. . . Of politics I have not much to tell you; they are cheerless and uncompromising as ever! European, I mean, for at home with ourselves, in our colonies, and in India, we have every reason to be satisfied.

'Will Austria be able to hold her own? Will she be liberal in good faith? The two questions are identical. On the answer to the second depends the answer to the first, and on this again depends what we have to expect for Europe. Palmerston is once more insisting furiously on the sale of Venice, and by doing so is helping to accelerate war. . . .

'For the last ten days it has been bitterly cold, and the snow is lying thick on the ground. The poor birds miss your kind and sympathetic hand, which used to scatter bread-crumbs for them in the days that are gone!'[14]

[14] The good old man's kindness was not reserved only for the birds. 'The poor of Coburg,' says Gustav Freytag, speaking of his closing years, 'knew well the stone threshold, on which with heavy hearts they pulled the bell, and from which they were to descend again to the street with a lightened spirit. And his way of doing good might claim the merit, that it was not merely

On the verge of a year, which was to be fraught with undreamed-of sorrows to the writer, the Queen wrote to the uncle, whom she loved to call her 'second father:'—

'Windsor Castle, December 31, 1860.

'Pray accept my warmest, heartiest wishes for the coming year! May it not be one of war and strife, but of peace! and may we have the happiness of enjoying your dear company in our family circle, towards which you are ever so kind and good!'

liberal and well applied, but exercised with a discretion which did not let the left hand know what was done by the right.'—*Denkwürdigkeiten*, p. 56.

## CHAPTER CIX.

LIKE most men, who have done great things in the world, the Prince got to his work early, and had made good progress with it before other people were stirring. Summer or winter he rose as a rule at seven, dressed and went to his sitting-room, where in winter a fire was burning, and a green German lamp ready lit. He read and answered letters, never allowing his vast correspondence to fall into arrear, or prepared for Her Majesty's consideration drafts of answers to her Ministers on any matters of importance. Not feeling sure of the idiomatic accuracy of his English, he would constantly bring his English letters to the Queen to read through, saying, '*Lese recht aufmerksam, und sage wenn irgend ein Fehler da ist!*' ('Read carefully, and tell me if there be any faults in these!') Or, in the case of drafts on political affairs, he would say, '*Ich hab' Dir hier ein Draft gemacht, lese es mal! Ich dächte es wäre recht so.*' ('Here is a draft I have made for you. Read it. I should think this would do!') He kept up this habit to the close of his life, and his last Memorandum of this description—a paper of the greatest importance, to which we shall hereafter have occasion particularly to advert[1]—he brought to the Queen on the 1st of December, 1861, at 8 A.M., having risen to write it, ill and suffering as he was, saying as he gave it, '*Ich bin so schwach, ich habe kaum die Feder halten können*' ('I am so weak, I have scarcely been able to hold the pen').

[1] See this Memorandum, *postea*, p. 421.

From eight o'clock till breakfast-time was either spent in the same way, or in the perusal of fresh relays of despatches and official papers, which had been previously opened and read by the Queen, and placed by her ready for his perusal beside his table in her sitting-room.

Every morning the leading newspapers were placed on a table in the breakfast-room near the Prince. He never failed to examine them—sometimes, to quote a Memorandum of the Queen's, of January 1862, 'reading aloud good or important articles. A good article gave him sincere pleasure.' How much a mischievous one pained him has already been told (*ante*, p. 229). 'Often,' says the same Memorandum, 'when breakfast was over, he would get up, and spreading a newspaper over one of the tables, bend over it, and refuse to listen to any questions, saying, "*Störe mich nicht, ich lese das fertig*" ("Don't disturb me, I am busy reading").' And his papers are full of evidence, that no article in any of the leading journals of real value for its facts or arguments escaped his notice.

'Formerly,' again to quote Her Majesty's Memorandum, 'when he did not go out shooting, he generally walked out with me before ten, or sometimes even earlier; but for the last three or four years, we seldom went out before a quarter-past ten. He generally saw Mr. Rulandt [his private librarian] (or, in former years, Dr. Becker), sometimes Colonel Biddnlph or Major Elphinstone, or would write something, or run down (for he was always quick and energetic as he went up or down the stairs and along the passage, and I could hear his footstep as he went along) to see General Grey or Sir Charles Phipps. Sometimes, if a Minister were in the house, and were going away early, he would send for him for a moment to his room, and then would come to my room again. Not for a good many years did he go out with me on the days he shot; that was only quite in the earliest years, when he had not so much to do.

'In the shooting season he generally went out three or four times a week, and later on hunted once a week, but he had almost given up hunting since 1858. He was generally home by two or a little before. He never went out, or came home, without coming through my room, or into my dressing-room, with a smile on his face, saying, "*Sehr schön!*" ("Very fine!") or "*Ich bin schrecklich nass*" or "*schmutzig*" ("I am frightfully wet" or "dirty"), and I treasured up everything I heard, kept every letter or despatch to show him, and was always vexed and nervous if I had any foolish draft or despatch to put before him, as I knew it would distress or irritate him, and affect his delicate stomach. He always walked very fast, when out shooting, and got very quickly through with it. He would say, "I don't understand people making a business of shooting, and going out for the whole day. I like it as an amusement for a few hours."'

Even during these few hours of recreation the brain could have had little rest from its preoccupations. The day was too short for the claims upon the Prince's attention, and the frequent attacks of illness, even although slight, showed that his body was growing weaker, while every day increased the strain upon his mind. In every direction his counsel and his help were sought. In the Royal Household, in his family circle, among his numerous kinsfolk at home and abroad, his judgment and guidance were being constantly appealed to. Every enterprise of national importance claimed his attention; and in all things that concerned the welfare of the State, at home or abroad, his accurate and varied knowledge, and great political sagacity, made him looked to as an authority by all our leading statesmen. Let those who worked with and for him do their best—and he could not have been served more ably or more devotedly—they could not prevent a pressure which constantly compelled him to do in one day what would

have been more than ample work for two. But all this fatigue of body and brain did not deprive him of his natural cheerfulness. 'At breakfast and luncheon,' says the Memorandum already quoted, 'and also at our family dinners, he sat at the top of the table, and kept us all enlivened by his interesting conversation, by his charming anecdotes, and droll stories without end of his childhood, of people at Coburg, of our good people in Scotland, which he would repeat with a wonderful power of mimicry, and at which he would himself laugh most heartily. Then he would at other times entertain us with his talk about the most interesting and important topics of the present and of former days, on which it was ever a pleasure to hear him speak.'

At the beginning of 1861 the Prince regarded the position of affairs on the Continent of Europe with no small disquietude. With the exception of the struggle going on at Gaëta there was no actual war; but the elements of discord existed in profusion. Plots, fomented in Paris and in Italy, were actively on foot for insurrections in Poland, in Hungary, in Dalmatia, in the Danubian Provinces; and in the later days of December 1860, unusual alarm was created by the discovery that large quantities of arms and ammunition had been loaded in Genoa from the arsenal and sent to the Danube with a view to a rising there.[2] So long as Austria retained her hold of Venetia and was unable to come to a satisfactory arrangement with her Hungarian subjects, so long was she liable to the inroads of revolution in her provinces on the Adriatic, as well as in Hungary itself. The Turkish Sultan had relapsed as usual into ruinous extravagance, and the vices of administration at the Porte and throughout European Turkey continued to keep alive the

[2] The discovery was made in time to enable the authorities at Constantinople to prevent the greater portion of the arms from reaching their destination.

ever imminent danger of a conflict of races fomented by the aggressive ambition of Russia. France, while professing only pacific intentions, continued to augment her army and navy to formidable proportions, and throughout the army,—impatient of idleness, as great armies must always be,—an early campaign on the Rhine was openly talked of, and would probably become a fact, should anything occur to place Prussia in a position unfavourable for resistance.

At home, in our Colonies and in India, we had, as the Prince had said (*ante*, p. 271), every reason to be satisfied. The demand for Reform had died away for the time, and the public mind was agitated by no other exciting question. A bad harvest, the consequence of the wet and ungenial season of 1860, pressed somewhat heavily upon both landlords and farmers; but occasioned little inconvenience otherwise, as the supplies of grain from abroad were abundant and cheap, and the people were well employed at good wages. Some uneasiness was felt, which in time grew into alarm, at the threatenings which had begun to make themselves heard of a rupture between the Northern and Southern States of America. If these ended in war, as seemed but too probable, the staple industry of Lancashire and Cheshire could not fail to suffer seriously in the failure of those supplies of cotton for which they were chiefly dependent on the Southern States of the Union. But at the beginning of the year this contingency was too remote to cause any wide-spread uneasiness; and, the war in China being over, our forces were relieved of any immediate strain, while no English interest seemed likely to be affected in such a way as to involve us in any European conflict, should such conflict anywhere arise.

The most immediate and pressing danger seemed, as before, to be in Venetia. A solution of the problem by the sale of the country to Sardinia, Austria compensating herself

for the loss of territory by applying the price in the acquisition from the Porte of Bosnia and the Herzegovina, was broached in an anonymous pamphlet called '*Vente de la Vénétie*,' published in Paris towards the end of 1860. It was believed to have been inspired by the Emperor of the French, but it advocated views which he was prevented by the engagements of Villafranca from openly propounding. There wanted, however, for the project one essential element of success—a disposition on the part of Austria to entertain the proposal. So far from this being the case, no sooner was the scheme ventilated in the press, than the Austrian Ministers, without waiting to see whether it was favoured by the representatives of other Governments, were at pains to let it be known, that neither they nor any other possible Austrian Minister would dare to face the storm of national indignation which they would provoke by entering upon a transaction of such a nature.

It will have been seen, however, from what was said by the Prince (*ante*, p. 271), that Lord Palmerston was warmly in favour of the proposal. Indeed, it was one which in its main features he had advocated so far back as 1848. Lord John Russell shared his views. But in the face of Austria's avowed determination not to sell Venetia for money, it would obviously have been inexpedient for England to press the suggestion of a sale upon her, as these Ministers were at first not indisposed to do. This was the opinion expressed by the Queen, when the subject was brought by Lord John Russell under her notice. Writing to him on the 10th of December, 1860, Her Majesty said: 'Placing upon record a train of argument to prove that England thinks it right Austria should sell or cede Venice, would be most unfair towards Austria, and could only serve as the groundwork to justify Sardinia hereafter in making the attack to accomplish that which England recommended.' There was every

reason to anticipate that advantage would be taken of such an expression of opinion on the part of England in other quarters besides Sardinia. Complete silence was therefore felt by the Cabinet to be the safest course, and the question of Venetia passed for the time out of the region of diplomatic discussion.[3]

The first day of the new year brought from the Emperor of the French the letter to the Queen, of which the following is a translation :—

'Paris, 30th December, 1860.

'Madam and very dear Sister,—I cannot let this year pass away without approaching your Majesty with the expression of my wishes for the happiness of yourself, of the Prince,

[3] The Emperor of the French soon came to the conclusion that in the present temper of Austria, and of some of the other Powers, it would be futile to press the project further. In an interview with Lord Cowley early in January 1861, he said it could not be expected that under present circumstances Austria should abandon Venetia, or consent to sell it. To the suggestion that her finances could not support a constant military occupation of a province which returned no revenues, he rejoined, that whatever Austria's difficulties might be, he was confident that nothing could or would be done, so long as everybody held to his extreme opinions. 'What would be more natural,' he said, 'than to arrange a transaction of this nature? Let Italy purchase Venetia of Austria, and let Austria purchase Bosnia and the Herzegovina of the Porte. Austria wants money and the Porte wants money. Let Austria keep the half of what she obtains for Venetia, and give the other half to the Porte. But you probably will not consent to this arrangement, and I know that Russia will not, for I mentioned the idea to Kisseleff, who told me plainly that his Government would not consent.'

This idea, in a modified form, was again brought up many months afterwards by Lord John Russell. But Lord Palmerston seems to have been satisfied that it was impracticable. On the 13th of October, 1861, he wrote to Lord John Russell: 'The arrangement you suggest by which Turkey would sell Herzegovina to Italy, and Italy would give it to Austria in exchange for Venetia, would be a very good one, but it would be hard to accomplish. Turkey would not easily be persuaded to sell Herzegovina, and Austria would not be more disposed to take that province in exchange for Venetia, to which she foolishly attaches great military importance. I suspect that Austria will not give up Venetia till compelled to do so for nothing by defeat in war.'—(Ashley's *Life of Lord Palmerston*, vol. ii. p. 217).

and of your family. I hope the year now beginning will be a happy one for our two countries, and that it will see the ties which bind us once more closely knit. Europe is much agitated, but so long as a good understanding exists between England and France the mischief may be localised. I congratulate your Majesty on the success which our two armies have obtained in China. May our standards always be united, for heaven seems to protect them!

'I have greatly envied the Empress her happiness in being able to pay you a visit, and to see your charming family again. It has been to her a great pleasure.

'I seize eagerly this opportunity of expressing to your Majesty anew the sentiments of high esteem, and of sincere friendship, with which I am your Majesty's good brother,

'NAPOLÉON.'

Her Majesty, in her reply, which we also give in a translation, did not confine herself to the courtesies of compliment, but took the opportunity to indicate her opinion, that if the blessing of heaven on the united efforts of England and France, to which the Emperor alludes, were to be hoped for, it must be so only upon the condition of neither giving countenance to wars of aggression, nor fomenting the conflicts of races. The Emperor might be trusted to read between the lines, at what contingencies Her Majesty pointed:—

'Osborne, 3rd January, 1861.

'Sire and dear Brother,—The kind wishes expressed by your Majesty, on the occasion of the New Year, are much prized by me, and I beg you to accept my sincere thanks for them, as well as the expression of my own best wishes for the happiness of your Majesty, of the Empress, and your dear child. The Prince joins with me in these good wishes.

'It is not without reason that your Majesty views with

some disquietude the agitated state of Europe, but I share with yourself the firm hope, that the mischief may be greatly diminished, so long as a thorough understanding exists between France and England, and I will add, so long as this understanding has for its object the preservation of peace for the world, and for every nation its rights and its possessions, and the toning down of the animosities, which threaten to produce the gravest of all calamities, civil wars and the conflict of races. The blessing of heaven will not fail to attend the accomplishment of a task so great and so holy.

'I rejoice with your Majesty at the glorious success which our allied armies have just achieved in China, and at the excellent Peace which this success has effected. It will, I hope, be fertile in good for our two countries, as well as for the strange people, whom we have forced to enter into relations with the rest of the world.

'It gave me great pleasure to see the Empress, and to learn since that her tour in this country had done her so much good.

'Accept the assurance of complete friendship, with which I am, Sire and Brother, your Majesty's good sister,

'VICTORIA *Reg.*'

Before leaving Windsor, on the 2nd of January, for a ten-days' visit to Osborne, intelligence reached the Queen, by telegram, of the death, at Sans Souci, that morning, of the King of Prussia. The thought of his long illness, full of pain as it had been, and saddened for those to whom he was dear by the decay of his brilliant and highly cultivated powers of mind, lightened the regret which was naturally felt by those who had known him. Politically, the raising of his successor from the position of Regent, with comparatively limited powers, to the independence of the throne, was generally felt

to be a gain. His known integrity and manliness of character revived in the Constitutional party the hope of seeing the Constitution fairly carried out. King Frederick William IV., notwithstanding all his theoretical sympathies with popular freedom, and despite his political acumen, could never bring himself to recognise the fact, that personal government was an anachronism, and was at all events inconsistent with that co-operation of the people through their representatives in the affairs of government, which it had been the object of the existing Prussian Constitution to secure. Germany, moreover, wanted a leader, in whom the nation could place confidence, should the necessity for united action arise, as arise it might, no one could say how soon; and in the Prince now raised to the throne the country recognised many of the qualities on which they could place reliance to grapple with such an emergency, and to compensate them for the many disappointed hopes of the former reign. In these anticipations the Prince Consort shared; and his warm personal regard for the Prince Regent, no less than the intimate family tie by which he was bound to him, led him to observe the incidents of the new reign with the closest interest.

A letter from his daughter, now the Crown Princess, who had been suddenly summoned on New Year's eve to the death-bed of the King, brought vividly before the Queen and Prince the last sad hours of the amiable and gifted man, whose latter days had been shrouded in eclipse. It was the first time the Princess had looked on death, and the impression which it made on her deeply sensitive and, at the same time, reflective nature, was naturally profound. She had seen the last distressful struggles of the unconscious frame. But she had also seen the sweet and happy calm, the tranquil sleep, of death; and had felt that there was nothing dreadful or appalling in what had heretofore been

contemplated with shuddering and alarm.[4] In his reply, the Prince, while seeking to strengthen this assurance, reminds his daughter, that in one of the most impressive experiences of life she was older than himself. He writes: 'The more frequently you look upon the body, the stronger will be your conviction that yonder casing (*Hülle*) is not the *man*, yea, that it is scarcely conceivable how it can have been. In seeing and observing the approach of death, as you have been called upon to do, you have become older in experience than myself. I have never seen any one die.'

The funeral of the King of Prussia, in the Friedenskirche at Potsdam, was fixed for the 7th of January. Lord de Tabley, Colonel (now Lieut-General Sir Henry) Ponsonby, and Colonel Teesdale, were sent by the Queen to represent Her Majesty on the occasion. Through snow and bitter frost they made their way, with some difficulty, to Potsdam; where, on their arrival, the barometer registered seventeen degrees below freezing-point. They arrived at eight o'clock on the morning of the funeral, and found, even at that early hour, the streets alive with people taking up their places to see the procession. 'Numbers of soldiers,' says Colonel Ponsonby, writing the same day to Sir Charles Phipps, 'were marching about in all directions. What the cavalry must have suffered, that marched down at two in the morning from Berlin, I cannot imagine.' The ceremony, which did not take place till one, was very imposing. The pall was borne by eight generals. Immediately behind the coffin came the royal standard, borne by General Wrangel, and followed

[4] 'I have read dear Vicky's most touching description of the poor King of Prussia's death. She writes with such deep feeling and truth of the impression a death-bed leaves on the mind and heart. I pity the Queen most sincerely; she has indeed lost everything in this world, having no children, poor thing.'—(*Letter* [14*th January*, 1861] *of the Princess of Hohenlohe to the Queen.*)

by the King leading the Queen Dowager. Her visible emotion was shared by every member of the Royal family, and by the throng of Kings and Princes, who had come to pay the last honours to one whose political faults were at that moment buried in the recollection of his kind heart and distinguished gifts.

It was decided by the Queen, in concert with Lord Palmerston, to confer upon the new King of Prussia the Order of the Garter so soon as a suitable envoy could be secured for conveying the *insignia*, and presiding at the ceremony for the Installation of the King at Berlin.

Despite the extreme cold, which continued to prevail throughout England, and Europe generally, the Prince, during his stay at Osborne, made careful visits of inspection to the fortifications, which were in progress at Portsmouth, Gosport, and the neighbourhood, and which, he mentions in his Diary, he found to be making satisfactory progress. These were works in which he took the keenest interest, and he made himself as thoroughly master of the details of their structure and progress, as though he had been personally responsible for their completion and efficiency.

At this time, also, the scheme for the Organisation of the Indian Army upon its new basis was brought to maturity. It had engaged the anxious consideration of Sir Charles Wood, the Secretary of State for India, and of the Indian Council, ever since the amalgamation of the forces had been resolved upon, and provided for by the Act of the previous Session (*ante*, p. 107). On the 8th of January, Sir Charles Wood wrote to the Prince, to inform him that the complete scheme had, that morning, been passed through the Indian Council, and as it had been substantially concurred in by the Secretary of State for War and by the Commander-in-Chief, it might now be considered to be ready for Her Majesty's sanction. Attaching so much importance to this

measure, as we have seen they did, the intelligence was most welcome to Her Majesty and the Prince. The next day the Prince wrote to Sir Charles Wood: 'The Queen wishes me to express to you, how much she appreciates the patience, judgment, and good temper, with which you have brought to its conclusion, under so many difficulties, a settlement of that important Indian Army question, which is so entirely satisfactory to her, and in accordance with the dignity and prerogative of the Crown, as well as conducive to the safety of the Empire.'

On the 12th the Court returned to Windsor Castle, when the family circle was again broken up, for a time, by the departure of Prince Alfred, on the 15th, to join his ship at Plymouth, and of the Prince of Wales, on the 18th, for his first term at Cambridge. The Castle, as usual at this season, was enlivened by the presence of many visitors, and by the occasional performance of plays in St. George's Hall. Of these Mr. Charles Reade's *Masks and Faces* and Mr. Buckstone's *My Wife's Mother* on the 17th, Lord Lytton's *Richelieu* (which the Prince notes as 'most interesting and well played by Mr. Phelps') on the 24th, and *The Contested Election* of Mr. Tom Taylor, with Matthews, Buckstone, and Compton, seem from the entries in the Prince's Diary to have given him great pleasure.

Among the visitors was Lord Palmerston, with whom arrangements were then made for the dowry and annuity, to be asked for from Parliament, upon the marriage of the Princess Alice, and also for the purchase of an estate for the Prince of Wales, out of the accumulations of his income during his minority. Newstead Abbey was then in the market, and seemed in every way an eligible investment. But another purchaser having struck in before the arrangements were matured, the opportunity passed away of connecting Lord Byron's patrimonial seat with associations

which would have added fresh interest to those already attached to it.

One of the visitors, who followed Lord Palmerston, was Mr. Disraeli, from whom the Prince gathered the general views of the Conservative Opposition as to their policy in the approaching Session. Their strength was considerable, composed, as they were, of a compact body of three hundred members; but they had no wish for the return of their leaders to office, and, indeed, were anxious to strengthen the hands of the Government in a bold national policy. A movement for a reduction of the expenses of our armaments, which had been initiated by Mr. Cobden and his friends, and had taken the shape of a letter to Lord Palmerston, signed by about sixty members of Parliament, calling for such a reduction, had shown the existence of a considerable division in the ranks of the usual Ministerial supporters. Many of the latter had, however, declined to sanction this appeal, believing, to use the expression of one of their number, General de Lacy Evans, 'that it was neither safe nor expedient to disarm the country.' But the working majority of the Government was not so large as to make the defection, on questions of finance, of so large a section of their party otherwise than embarrassing. The Conservative party, Mr. Disraeli said, were in no way inclined to take advantage of this state of things. On the contrary, they were prepared to support the Government, all they required from them, in return, being that they should state explicitly the principles of their policy, and not enter into a line of what he termed 'democratic finance.' These remarks were made without reserve, and in communicating their tenor to Lord Palmerston (24th January), the Prince added:—'Mr. Disraeli said, no Minister since Mr. Pitt had been so powerful as you might be. The Conservative party was ready not only to give general support to a steady and patriotic

policy, but even to help the Minister out of scrapes, if he got into any.' This time-honoured rule of an honourable Opposition was strictly observed in the Session which ensued; and Lord Palmerston's biographer states, that an attempt by the Radicals to enlist the Conservatives in a joint effort to turn out the Government proved wholly unsuccessful.—(*Life of Lord Palmerston*, vol. ii. p. 205.)

On the 24th, the Prince sent Baron Stockmar the following budget of domestic and political news:—

'I reproach myself for writing to you so seldom now-a-days; but the work increases daily, and I am often fairly puzzled how to get through it.

'Alfred is gone again, and the Prince of Wales established at Maddingley Hall near Cambridge, and occupied with his studies.

'The Princess, now Crown Princess, has in the late trying time at Berlin again behaved quite admirably, and receives on all sides the most entire recognition. Your son is a great stay and assistance to her, a true priest of the sacred fire.

'In Italy strange things are taking place. It is still, however, the idol of the two "Old Italian Masters,"[5] who are nevertheless alarmed at the spread of the revolutionary conspiracy throughout Eastern Europe. Cavour has allowed the arms for the Danube to be packed and shipped in the Arsenal at Genoa. This we learn after he had assured us solemnly that he knew nothing of it. . . .

'Our household are all well. We have made great use of the frost for skating, which is always a very healthy exercise. I trust you are keeping pretty well.'

A few days after this letter was written, the Queen and

[5] A *sobriquet* some time before given by the late Lady William Russell to Lord Palmerston and Lord John Russell.

Prince sustained a serious loss in the death of the Queen's physician, Dr. Baly. A telegram reached them on the evening of the 29th, announcing that he had been killed that afternoon in an accident on the London and South-Western Railway between Wimbledon and Malden. The accident had been caused by the breaking away of the engine from the tender, which turned over, dragging several carriages with it, down an embankment. It appeared that Dr. Baly, who had dropped asleep, jumped up on the first shock of the accident, and fell through the floor of the carriage, which had given way. He was found under the carriage terribly mangled. Two other passengers were seriously injured, and several slightly bruised. Writing next day to Baron Stockmar, the Prince says:—

'We had the great misfortune yesterday to lose Dr. Baly, who was killed in an accident on the railway between London and Wimbledon. He was the only one greatly hurt in the train. For us this is a serious loss, as he had gained our entire confidence, and was an excellent man, and Clark has quite given up practice.'[6]

The Prince again refers to the subject in writing to Baron Stockmar a few days afterwards (9th February). 'Dr. Baly,' he writes, 'is a great, great loss for us, and the manner of his death was horrible. He was so mangled, that his servants were unable to swear to the identity of his body, when it was shown to them, until they had their attention called to his clothes.' In the same letter the Prince mentions, that Dr. Jenner, 'who was Baly's best friend,' has been recommended as his successor by Sir James Clark.

[6] The Prince's entry in his Diary was:—'*Sehr traurig! Wir sind sehr erschrocken. Er ist ein ungeheuer Verlust für uns.*' ('Very sad! We are greatly alarmed. He is an incalculable loss for us.') The loss to the Prince at this period of a physician, who had begun to know his constitution and habits, and had his entire confidence, was indeed serious.

On the 4th of February the Court came to London for the sitting of Parliament. Next day the Queen opened Parliament in person. The severe weather of the last two months had passed away. The day was fine, and, although the public mind was free from excitement on any political question, the crowds that witnessed the progress of Her Majesty to and from the House of Lords were unusually great as well as enthusiastic. The Royal Speech suggested few topics for discussion. It expressed a trust that 'the moderation of the Powers of Europe would prevent any interruption of the general peace.' Syria, it said, might soon be expected to be restored to tranquillity. The successful termination of operations in China was adverted to. Deep concern was expressed at the differences which had arisen among the States of the American Union; and the opportunity was taken to accentuate the reference by an allusion to the warmth of the reception which they had recently given to the Prince of Wales. At the same time the loyalty and attachment shown by the Queen's Canadian and other North American subjects were warmly recognised. Measures were promised for the improvement of the laws relating to crime, bankruptcy, the transfer of land, and the system of rating; but the Speech was wholly silent in regard to the question of Parliamentary Reform, which for some years had formed a prominent topic in the Parliamentary programme.

In the House of Lords the debate on the Address was confined almost entirely to matters of foreign policy. Lord Derby, who had just recovered from a severe illness, spoke with all his wonted fire, and dissected in unsparing terms Lord John Russell's Despatch of the 20th of October 1860 (*ante*, p. 227) to Sir James Hudson. But neither in the House of Lords, nor in the House of Commons, where the same Despatch was subjected to severe criticism by Mr. Disraeli, was any amendment to the Address moved, nor any

indication given of the intention of the Opposition to act otherwise than in the spirit spoken of to the Prince by Mr. Disraeli. Great uneasiness was shown by the leaders of the Opposition, which the Government were not in a position to remove, as to the probable action of France in Italy. This uneasiness was fomented by the very unsettled state of the Southern part of the peninsula, which, while it gave countenance to the disbelief, then very generally entertained, in the ultimate consolidation of the kingdom in the hands of Victor Emmanuel, was felt to furnish at the same time an opening for further French interference, of a kind to which the action taken by the Emperor in the Roman States and at Gaëta seemed to show that he was strongly predisposed.

An unfortunate reference to the cession of Savoy and Nice as an act of right, of which he had forced the acceptance upon Europe, in the Address of the Emperor of the French the day before on opening the legislative Session of the French Chambers, had quickened this distrust. His announcement of a 'firm determination not to enter on any conflict, where the cause of France was not based upon right and justice,' failed of its effect with those who, while they could see neither right nor justice in what had happened as to these provinces, feared that a similar plea might on some future occasion be set up for rounding off a frontier elsewhere. In other respects the Address was calculated to reassure Europe, for it pledged the Emperor to the principle of non-intervention in the strongest terms, as that 'which leaves each country master of its destinies, localises questions, and prevents them from degenerating into European conflicts.' The recent withdrawal of the French fleet from Gaëta was referred to as dictated by a determination to adhere to this principle, which was admitted to have been infringed every day that it had been kept there.

The Emperor was also at pains to state, that he was resolved to steer a middle course, avoiding the extreme opinions, which were prevalent among his subjects—'the one, that France should take part with all kinds of revolutions; the other, that she should put herself at the head of a general reactionary movement.' Of his adopting the latter course there was little fear. But the activity of French agents in fomenting disturbances in many parts of Europe, although acting, very probably, without sanction from the Tuileries, kept suspicion everywhere alive and on the alert.

To the Prince's numerous avocations had by this time been added an active part in the preliminary arrangements for the contemplated Great Exhibition of 1862. Frequent meetings were now being held upon the subject, at which he presided, and an extensive correspondence was being carried on under his direction. An arrangement had been completed for placing at the disposal of the trustees for the new Exhibition, part of the property at South Kensington of the Commissioners of the Exhibition of 1851, and tenders had been obtained for the building, a large portion of which was originally intended to be of a permanent character, and to be used for periodical Exhibitions in future years. The trustees were driven by considerations of expense to revise their plans, and to bring them within the scope of their probable resources. This having been done, the work of organising the details of the Exhibition was entered upon, and added very largely to the labours of the Prince during the spring and summer.

On the 9th of February the Prince wrote to Baron Stockmar:—

'I was sure that in our joy and sorrow you would take a cordial part, and your welcome letter is a fresh proof of this. . . . That all the good accounts of our young couple

in Berlin would give you pleasure, I felt sure. . . . I spare no pains to encourage and stimulate them in the path they have chosen. . . .

'In Parliament Palmerston is entirely master this year. The Tories do not want office; the country does not want a Reform Bill, and it does want defences. The Radicals would give the one, but deprive it of the other.

' . . . Mr. Sidney Herbert has been transferred as Lord Herbert to the Upper House, because his failing health is no longer equal to the fatigue of the Lower House. I am afraid death has him in his grasp.[7] He is suffering both from disease of the heart and threatened diabetes!

'To-day, twenty-one years ago, was a Sunday, and we were engaged in preparations for great events. I went with you through the Anson business, and, on your advice, gave up my objections to him (*ante*, vol. i. p. 55).

'To-morrow our marriage (*Ehemajoreum*) will be twenty-one years old! How many a storm has swept over it, and still it continues green and fresh, and throws out vigorous roots, from which I can, with gratitude to God, acknowledge that much good will yet be engendered for the world! It is now with these twenty-one years, as with the fourscore years of the Bible, "if they have been delicious, yet have they been labour and trouble."[8]

'Farewell! I hope the milder weather of the last fortnight will have done good to your wife and to yourself, and that you allow yourself the enjoyment of the air, with-

[7] This proved to be the case, and this amiable and accomplished man died on the 2nd of August of this year at the age of fifty.

[8] The allusion here is to the 10th verse of the 90th Psalm in Luther's version, which gives a reading different from our own: '*Unser Leben währet siebenzig Jahre, und wenn es hoch kommt, so sind es achtzig Jahre, und wenn es köstlich gewesen ist, so ist es Mühe und Arbeit gewesen.*' In our version there are no words corresponding to 'und wenn es köstlich gewesen ist,' the words being, 'The days of our years are threescore years and ten; and if by reason of strength they be fourscore years, yet is their strength labour and sorrow.'

out which the vital powers must always remain greatly depressed.'

The next day—the twenty-first anniversary of the Royal marriage—was a Sunday. 'It was kept quietly (*still gefeiert*),' says the Prince's Diary, the event being only marked by some sacred music performed before the Royal circle by the Queen's Band in the evening. On that day the Prince wrote to the Duchess of Kent, at Frogmore :—

'Buckingham Palace, 10th February, 1861.

'I cannot let this day go by without writing to you, even if I had not to thank you for your kind wishes and the charming photographs. Twenty-one years make a good long while, and to-day our marriage "comes of age, according to law." We have faithfully kept our pledge for better and for worse, and have only to thank God, that He has vouchsafed so much happiness to us. May He have us in His keeping for the days to come! You have, I trust, found good and loving children in us, and we have experienced nothing but love and kindness from you.

'In the hope that your pains and aches will now leave you soon, I remain, as ever, your affectionate son,

'ALBERT.'

To this letter a fitting pendant will be found in the following passage from one written by the Queen to King Leopold two days later :—

'On Sunday we celebrated with feelings of deep gratitude and love the twenty-first anniversary of our blessed marriage, a day which has brought to us, and, I may say, to the world at large, such incalculable blessings! Very few can say with me, that their husband at the end of twenty-one years is not only full of the friendship, kindness, and affection which a

truly happy marriage brings with it, but of the same tender love as in the very first days of our marriage! We missed dear Mama and three of our children, but had six dear ones round us, and assembled in the evening those of our household still remaining, who were with us then.'

Let the reader turn back to the story of the Royal Marriage day, as told in the fourth chapter of this book, to the earnest 'God help me!' with which the Prince closed his letter written to the Dowager Duchess of Gotha, to entreat her blessing on the vows which he was to pledge at the altar within the next three hours; to the Queen's prayer, that it might be her lot to make him happy and contented, with whom her fate was thenceforth to be inextricably bound. Having read these passages, let him again turn to the letters we have just cited, and say, if in the records of 'marriages of true minds,' any fairer or more touching record is to be found than these.

## CHAPTER CX.

THE Prince's Diary at this time contains further evidence that his constitution had begun to show how much too great the strain upon it had been. On the 14th of February he notes that he is suffering greatly from toothache. Next day his pains had grown much worse; but he nevertheless went to preside at an important meeting of the Fine Arts Commission, which had found its labours nearly brought to a standstill by disinclination on the part of the Government to supply the necessary funds for carrying out its recommendations in regard to the decoration of the Houses of Parliament. The next day the Prince was worse, and obliged to shut himself up. His indisposition had now taken the form of inflammation of the nerves of the upper part of the cheek. 'My sufferings,' his Diary records on the 17th, 'are frightful, and the swelling will not come to a proper head.' For several days the pain continued without abatement. Incision of the gum gave no relief, and it only yielded at last to enforced rest and tonics. It was not, however, till the 22nd, that the Prince was able to go out.

In writing the following letter to Baron Stockmar the Prince did not tell the full story of the torture he had undergone. Had he done so, it could not have failed to alarm the old physician, as indicating a serious disturbance of the nervous system, and general lowering of the vital powers:—

'Buckingham Palace, 21st February, 1861.

'Since I last wrote, I have been suffering greatly with toothache, and with a gum-boil, which would not come to a head. Sleepless nights and pain have pulled me down very much. This has been going on for nine days, and a second operation, which Mr. Saunders has just performed, does not give me any assurance that he has reached the seat of the mischief. *De la patience et de l'apoteldoque* were his two remedies, the same which years ago my French teacher prescribed for me. The second of these varies, and has every possible form and name; the first is, and ever has been, the only one about which we poor mortals can make no mistake.

'The Ministry have agreed to ask for Alice 30,000*l.* as a dower, and 6,000*l.* as an annuity. This is three-fourths of what was granted to the eldest sister, and will therefore, no doubt (because it embodies a principle), be carried; she will not, however, be able to cut a great figure upon it. We proposed that the Bill should, once for all, settle the same sums upon the other sisters in the event of a marriage. Gladstone, however, sees the greatest difficulties, which are probably imaginary.

'Gaëta has fallen, and *The Times*, following the example of some of our diplomatists, loses not a moment in hailing Victor Emmanuel as the King of Italy. So eager are they in their haste, that they outstrip his own decision.

'Of the prospect of Austria we are unable to form any correct estimate. Garibaldi seems not to wish to make the attack this spring.

'We have taken Dr. Jenner in Dr. Baly's place; Clark will write to you about him. The name is classical.

'What an excellent book is Schwartz's *Geschichte der neuen Theologie!* I can well imagine that it has many enemies. A book has appeared here called *Essays*

*and Reviews* (a volume of theology by seven contributors), which is making so great a sensation, that all the Archbishops and Bishops of the Church have signed and issued a public condemnation of its doctrines. I send you the book. People are already beginning to cry, "Refute and don't condemn!" We want for our faith not what is safe, but what is true.'

Ill or well, every day brought to the Prince an amount of work in which there can be no doubt that he took pleasure, even although the pressure of it must have warned him at times that he was using up his energies too rapidly. The unquiet state of Europe, and the necessity for watching all that was passing, openly and in secret, in furtherance of the various conflicting interests and policies of agitators and of statesmen, were in themselves sufficient to have fully occupied his mind, irrespectively of the innumerable claims upon his attention from matters of purely home and domestic interest.

A few days after the fall of Gaëta, the first Parliament of the new Italian kingdom met in Turin, in a large wooden hall erected for the occasion. The proceedings were opened by King Victor Emmanuel by an Address, in which the political position of the new kingdom was tersely and manfully explained. The recall of the French Minister was dealt with, and in terms which showed that it was not ominous of any serious results. 'If this fact,' said the King, 'is a cause of grief to us, it does not change the sentiments of our gratitude nor our confidence in the Emperor's affection to the Italian cause.' The Protest of Prussia was not adverted to with equal frankness, but the fact was stated, that an ambassador had been sent to the new King of Prussia, 'in token of respect for him personally, and of sympathy with the noble German nation, which I hope will become more and more convinced that Italy, being consti-

tuted in her natural unity, cannot offend the rights or interests of other nations.'

In these words the King touched the chord which had been more than once struck by Count Cavour in his communications with the representatives of Prussia. To Count Brasier de Saint-Simon, the Prussian Minister at Turin, he had said in answer to the Prussian Protest: 'In any case, I console myself with the thought, that in acting as I have done, I set an example which, probably at no very distant period, Prussia will be very glad to imitate.' This was the tone which General de La Marmora, the Ambassador to Berlin, was instructed to maintain. His language there was: 'That the two Governments had one common interest; that they each derived their strength from the national idea which they represented; that Italy, once consolidated, must of necessity be Prussia's natural ally, and useful to her in conquering the hegemony of Germany.' This language was, however, coldly received at the Court of Berlin, the new Sovereign being on moral, no less than political grounds, indisposed to establish an empire upon the spoliation of his brother Sovereigns. The good will of Prussia was, however, clearly indicated by a resolution of its Chamber of Deputies, that it was not in their opinion 'the interest either of Prussia or of Germany to oppose the progress of the Consolidation of Italy.'

Rome continued to be the chief difficulty in Count Cavour's path. If, on the one hand, he hung back from the endeavour to make it the capital of Italy, he strengthened the hands of Garibaldi and the republicans. If, on the other hand, he joined with them, he had to confront the power of France, and the hostility of Catholic Europe. But, as he said himself, in a letter to Prince Napoleon, quoted by Mazade, 'when there are only two roads open, one must choose the least dangerous, whatever precipices one

may have to encounter by the way.' He therefore lost no time in making it known that he had chosen the first alternative, although he held to the opinion that Rome, and only Rome, should be the capital of Italy. In a speech at Turin on the 18th of February, his colleague and successor, Baron Ricasoli, expressed this resolution in the strongest terms. 'Opportunity,' he said, 'will open our way to Venice. In the meantime, we think of Rome. This is for the Italians not merely a right, but an inexorable necessity. We do not wish to go to Rome by insurrectionary movements—unreasonable, rash, mad attempts—which may endanger our former acquisitions, and spoil the national enterprise. We will go to Rome hand in hand with France.'

The first act of the Italian Parliament was to declare Victor Emmanuel King of Italy (17th March) by an all but unanimous vote, there being only two dissentients. Against this decision the Papal Government formally protested, as being based upon the usurpation of the sacred and inalienable patrimony of the Apostolic See. The protest fell dead, as others had done of a similar character, which preceded it, none of the other Powers of Europe being disposed to support it by force of arms, although they all, including France, hung back from a formal recognition of the new Italian kingdom. England alone pursued a different course. When, on the 19th of March, the Marquis d'Azeglio announced to Lord John Russell that Victor Emmanuel had assumed the title of King of Italy assigned to him by the Italian Parliament, he was informed in reply, that England, 'acting on the principle of respecting the independence of the nations of Europe,' recognised the new kingdom.

It was not till the following June that the Emperor of the French followed the example of England. His perplexing position with regard to the Roman question was probably the cause of this delay. The occupation of Rome by his troops

was, politically and financially, a source of the greatest embarrassment to him. Early in 1861, a statement appeared in the *Constitutionnel*, that since 1859 the cost of this occupation to France had been 128,125,000 francs. In 1861, owing to the large reinforcements of French troops sent to the assistance of the Pope in the previous year, which had raised their numbers to 19,000, the cost for the year was over 9,500,000 francs. This, in the then embarrassed state of the French finances, was in itself a serious burden. But still more serious was the attitude of antagonism to the whole principles of his policy, in which the Emperor was placed by having to uphold against the will of the Italian nation that temporal supremacy, of which he had again and again avowed his disapproval. 'You may depend upon it,' were Lord Cowley's words in writing (1st March) to Lord John Russell, 'and I cannot repeat it too often, that, spite of appearances the other way, what the Emperor has most at heart is the evacuation of Rome. Laugh at me, if you will, for saying so, but such is my profound conviction.'[1]

But the discussions on the Address which took place in both the French Chambers, immediately upon their meeting under the new regulations, which permitted a greater latitude in the expression of opinion than had hitherto been allowed, were sufficient to show, not merely that the Emperor's Italian policy was disapproved by a formidable party, who thought the position of France weakened by the establishment of a great and powerful State in the Mediter-

[1] With this view, the Emperor devised all kinds of plans, among which was one, proposed by him at this time, for transferring Sardinia to the Papal Government, in exchange for Rome. Only in despair of other solutions of his difficulty could one so palpably impracticable as this have entered a brain so fertile and so astute. It was not till September 1864, that the first step towards a solution of the difficulty was reached by a Convention between France and the Government of Italy, by which the former agreed to evacuate Rome in two years, the King of Italy, on the other hand, pledging himself to abstain from encroachments on the Papal territory, and to protect it from external violence.

ranean, but that a very wide feeling existed throughout the country in favour of the Pope's temporal power. Very vehement speeches were made in support of these views by the Marquis de la Rochejaquelein and M. Heckern, which drew from Prince Napoleon and the Emperor's secretary, M. Piétri, rejoinders by no means calculated to allay the apprehensions of future European disturbance, which had prevailed since the close of the Italian war. These speeches were so remarkable, that the Prince made them the subject of the following private Memorandum, which appears among his papers :—

'Setting aside, on the one hand, all sentiment about Italian liberty and unity, and on the other all feeling about international law and treaties, and the general principles of right and wrong, the statesman will have to ask himself what will be the probable result of the events occurring in Italy on the balance of power in Europe, and on the particular interests of his own country. Will united Italy be a counterpoise to France, and an element securing the stability of the peace in Europe, or will she be an associate and helpmate in the restless aggression of France upon the territorial and legal condition of Europe, and a cause of disturbance and war?

'A perusal of the debates in the French Legislative Assembly, and of the speech of the King of Sardinia, throws important light on this question.

'The words of Prince Napoleon, in different parts of his long oration, are :—

'"The policy of France is bound to respect treaties, but as for those odious treaties of 1815, which have placed the foot of Europe on the throat of France, we must, whenever we can, denounce them and tear them in pieces. To have done this is the glory of the second Empire.

'"If there be any position which can strengthen us against

England, it is to make ourselves the centre of all the secondary Navies. When I say this, I am only citing one of the axioms of the traditional policy of France. . . . For if you think that all the secondary navies ought to be grouped around that of France, it is evident, that if the Italians have a navy, this will be a gain for France. Do not be deceived on this head. English statesmen know it well.

'"The unity of Italy is above all in the interests of France, because it is the only way one can hope, without a war, by an universal propaganda, to modify to our advantage the treaties of 1815. I defy you to find any other, especially now, when every possibility of disagreement with Italy about frontiers has been removed. Italy's natural ally is France; and I do not speak to you of the gratitude of her people, but of their interests."[2]

'M. Piétri, the Emperor's most confidential servant and agent, says:—

'"Who would deny to France that moral ascendancy which places her at the head of nations, and which has created for her in Italy a sympathy which may one day be represented by 300,000 men following her banners on the field of battle, when she should be provoked into completing the triumphs of civilisation?"

'The King of Sardinia says in his speech from the throne:—

'"France and Italy, whose origin, customs, and traditions are the same, contracted on the fields of Magenta and Solferino a bond of union which can never be severed."'

With such views prevalent at head-quarters in France, the conflict between Austria and her Hungarian subjects became a source of the greatest anxiety to the rest of Europe. If

[2] 'With nations and governments resentments for former antagonisms, or gratitude for former benefits, invariably give way to considerations of present and prospective interests.'—*Lord Palmerston to Lord John Russell*, 4th November, 1859 (Ashley's *Life of Palmerston*, vol. ii. p. 188).

this should result in the insurrection, which there was reason to believe had been long preparing, war in the Turkish provinces, and also in Venetia, was certain to ensue. The Representative Constitution, promulgated by the Government of Vienna in October 1859 for all its dominions, had failed to satisfy the Hungarians. They would have nothing but their own Constitution, to which they held that Austria was pledged as the fundamental condition on which the Emperor's right to govern their country rested. On the 27th of February, various Imperial ordinances were promulgated for the further regulation of the Constitution of the Empire, in which this view was ignored, and by which the benefits of the new Constitution were presented to Hungary as a boon, in lieu of the fundamental laws to which she was so warmly attached, and to the abrogation of which she had never assented. To forego these, and to accept the new Constitution, would have reduced her from an independent kingdom to an Austrian province. She declined, therefore, to take any part in the new arrangements, and firmly declared, through Baron Deak and others of her ablest leaders, that she could be conciliated in only one way. The Emperor must be crowned after swearing to the Hungarian Constitution, and the Hungarian people must be secured in their right to a separate administration of the kingdom for the purposes of war and of finance.[3]

At present, however, the Austrian Government showed no disposition to give way upon these points. Happily neither Sardinia nor France were in a position just then, whether as regarded money or men, to embark in war; and, without

[3] He was compelled to do so in the end, but not till after much had been done to irritate and provoke a fatal rupture with the Hungarians. In his address to the Diet (14th December, 1865), the Emperor, speaking as King of Hungary, acknowledged the continuity of Hungarian rights, and the validity of the Pragmatic Sanction, on which the Hungarians had, throughout the struggle, relied, as defining the relations of the nation to its elected dynasty.

their direct aid, the revolutionary party could not hope to move with effect either in Hungary or on the Danube. But if no adjustment of the dispute between Austria and Hungary took place, there was every reason to apprehend that the year 1862 would not pass over without a war, of which it was difficult to foresee the limits, but from which, if it extended to the Turkish territory, England could scarcely stand aloof.[4]

It will be seen from the Prince's letters, that he continued to feel very uneasy about the prospects of peace in Europe, and this uneasiness was obviously much augmented by the language of the Prince Napoleon and M. Piétri, according as it did with the information as to contemplated insurrectionary movements, which reached the Government from its confidential agents throughout Europe.

Meanwhile, it had been arranged to send Lord Breadalbane to Berlin with the *insignia* for the investiture of the King of Prussia as a Knight of the Garter. He carried with him a letter to the King from the Prince, from which we extract the following passages :—

'Buckingham Palace, 24th February, 1861.

'My dear Cousin,—I cannot let Lord Breadalbane start for Berlin, without charging him with a few lines from myself, to give you greeting as a member of a new fraternity. It is one tie the more of brotherhood and friendship, which is to bind us together in the future.

'I hope our deputation may find you well, and easy in mind. The winter has been very severe, and has told heavily

[4] When a project was being whispered about, as at this time it was, for the creation of a new Eastern kingdom, with King Leopold as the head of it reigning at Constantinople, Belgium becoming at the same time incorporated with France, it will be seen that responsible statesmen had only too much reason to keep a sharp eye on what was going on. Talk about such things by those who have great armies and navies at their back is never to be slighted.

upon many. I have myself been suffering for ten days with violent pains in the teeth, which happily left me two days since. What is going on in public affairs causes a great strain upon one's mind, and you will have your full share of toil and anxiety from the same cause. We must, however, trust in God, and in the conviction that we desire only what is good and right, for keeping alive in us that courage and cheerfulness, without which success in anything is impossible.

'In Austria, the complication does not diminish. I remain of my former opinion, that it is in Hungary the solution of the difficulty is to be sought, and infinitely complicated that difficulty is. It seems as though the whole nation were bent on the restoration of the Constitution of 1848. If this be so, of which at this distance it is difficult to judge, nothing will be left to the Emperor but either to comply or to conquer the country over again, which, menaced as he is in Venetia, would be no easy task. As respects Venetia, it is clearly his interest for the moment to keep quiet. This is not saying much: still, advantage should be taken of the lull in affairs, to come to an understanding with Hungary and the other provinces. Without an extended popular representation, this will not be possible, for an enormous deal of money will still be wanted from the poor people, and this will not be got without the concession of an effective control to an elective Chamber.

'In Turin the Kingdom of Italy is now constituted. . . . The Roman question seems to keep the upper place over all others there. Have secret negotiations been going on with Rome? It is maintained by some that the Cardinals are likely to turn out no less venal than were the Neapolitan ministers and generals. *Qui vivra, verra.* . . .

'Here Parliament has up to this time been very quiet. Later on we shall have difficulties to deal with, as I fear

there will be a considerable deficit.[5] Now we have once more to set to work might and main to build armour-plated ships, just as we have completed our fleet of screw steamers. . . .'

The ceremony of the investiture of the King of Prussia took place on the 6th of March, in the White Saloon of the Palace at Berlin. The King marked his appreciation of the honour by causing it to be carried out with great state and splendour. Writing on the 10th of March, in reply to the letter just quoted, he said :—

'A thousand hearty thanks for the welcome lines with which you greeted me as a new brother of the Order through Lord Breadalbane, whom I was delighted to see on this festive and to me most gratifying errand. I cannot sufficiently express to you how happy the Queen has made me by the grant of the ancient and noble Order, to possess which is a real distinction. To you also I must express my thanks, as I cannot help thinking you have not been without some share in prompting Her Majesty's determination. We have given the ceremonial as much state and solemnity as we could, and this was no more than the Queen's gracious act demanded. We flatter ourselves with the hope, that those who formed your mission have been thoroughly satisfied.[6] I share your hope, that this event may prove a new bond of friendship between us and our respective countries.'

The Queen and Prince had gone down on the 26th of February to Osborne for ten days. The Duchess of Kent, who had been staying with them at Buckingham Palace,

[5] This proved not to be the case. In Mr. Gladstone's financial statement for the year (15th April), the expenditure for the coming year was estimated at 69,900,000*l.*, and the revenue at 71,823,000*l.*, showing a surplus of 1,923,000*l.*

[6] Lord Breadalbane received from the King the Order of the Black Eagle.

returned the same day to Frogmore. She had for some time been in feeble health, but seemed to have gained strength during her visit to town. Her secretary, and the comptroller of her household for many years, Sir George Couper, was dangerously ill, and he died two days afterwards. Next day the Prince wrote to the Duchess, who, he had every reason to fear, would be seriously affected by his death:—

'I must send you a word of sympathy for the death of good Sir George [Couper]. That his end would come soon I expected; but still it came sooner than I anticipated. His weakness must have been very great! He was a loyal, faithful servant to you, and a most estimable man in every relation of life, and will be a great loss to you. I was not aware that he was so old as seventy-two. I feel deeply for his wife and children, and beg you to omit no opportunity of expressing this to them.

'We are quite well. My cough gives way before the sea air; on the other hand I fear you are not so well. I trust this loss may not take hold of you too strongly.

'Ever your affectionate son,

'ALBERT.

'Osborne, 1st March, 1861.'

Three days afterwards he wrote to Baron Stockmar:—

'You will probably have heard by this time of the death of good Sir George Couper, and you will have been very sorry, for you had a great regard for him as he had for you, "the worthy Baron," as he always called you, and you could appreciate his excellent qualities. He went out like a candle, was conscious of his approaching death, and only two minutes before it struck him was conversing calmly and cheerfully with his family. Lady Couper is greatly broken down, as we hear, and though poor Mama's health has not been injured by the shock, she feels the loss deeply, and will feel it still

more as time goes on. She has had much to suffer of late, her right arm being greatly swollen and very painful. She can use neither hand nor arm, which puts a stop to her writing, working, and playing on the piano, and she cannot read much, or bear being read to long at a time.

'She is to come to us in town when we return there on Friday. She will not go back to Clarence House; and with our children about her she will have more to amuse her.

'Here we have much to endure from rain, storm, and wind; still with all this it is pleasantly warm, only very exhausting. I plant and thin plantations.

'What is most noteworthy in politics is the debates in the French Senate. The speeches of MM. de la Rochejaquelein and Heckern on the one side, and of M. Piétri and Prince Napoleon on the other, are very remarkable.

'Our Parliament is tolerably quiet; in Berlin, on the other hand, the debates have been very keen. What is to become of the Viennese the gods alone know.

'We are at this moment puzzled how to get the French out of Syria. . . . If they go on our demand, their annoyance will be very great, for the navy and the nation have not yet forgiven their having been sent away from Gaëta by us.

'Osborne, 4th March, 1861.'

The apprehensions which England had felt from the first about the French occupation of Syria, although this now rested upon a Convention of all the European Powers, had never wholly died out. Such was the evil result of suspicion once awakened about the ulterior aims of French policy. Nor was this apprehension unnatural. For knowing, as our Government did, that intrigue was busily at work to create insurrection in the outlying Turkish European provinces, it seemed far from improbable that France, in the fulfilment of the civilising mission spoken of by M. Piétri, might at

any moment plead the necessity for a permanent protectorate of the Christians in Syria as the justification for keeping the hold upon the country which she had obtained, after the six months had expired to which the presence of her troops in the country was limited by the terms of the Convention. The French Government, on the other hand, urged, not without a show of reason, that a premature withdrawal of their forces would probably result in a renewal of the bloody conflicts of races rivals in religion and politics, which had provoked European intervention.[7] But the English interests at stake were too serious for the Government to let the matter remain open, and it kept up a pressure for the withdrawal of the French troops, which grew more urgent the more obstinately the French appeared to be bent on continuing their occupation. These efforts were ultimately crowned with success, but not until some months after this period, nor without much dissatisfaction on the part of that not unimportant section of French politicians, who made it a reproach to the Emperor, that he was too prone to propitiate England by concessions to her policy.[8]

The very strong language of the Prince Napoleon, as we

[7] Under the Convention, the 5th of March was the period for their withdrawal, but this was extended by a further Convention to the 5th of June, to give time for devising some plan for the future administration of the Lebanon. This was arrived at after much discussion, and embodied in a series of Articles, dated 9th June, 1861, entered into between the Porte and the five European Powers.

[8] No one attached more importance to this question than Lord Palmerston. 'I am heartily glad,' he wrote to Sir Henry Bulwer, our Ambassador at Constantinople (26th June, 1861), 'we have got the French out of Syria, and a hard job it was to do so. The arrangement made for the future government of the Lebanon will, I daresay, work sufficiently there to prevent the French from having any pretext for returning thither.'—(Ashley's *Life of Palmerston*, vol. ii. p. 212.) In the same letter he urges the new Sultan to abandon the ways of his predecessor, Abdul Medjid, and to reform his administration and his household, as the only means of 'rescuing his country from the downfall with which it has lately seemed to be threatened.' It is still unhappily an open question, whether vices so inveterate as those of the ruling powers of Constantinople are susceptible of cure.

have seen, produced a deep impression on the Prince Consort. It occasioned so much displeasure at Vienna, and generally throughout the Continent, that the Emperor of the French was for a time disposed to have it formally disavowed by his Government, and he only abandoned this intention upon the representation of his Foreign Minister, M. Thouvenel, that such a disavowal would give too much importance to the speaker, while it might form an inconvenient precedent in the future.[9] But after all Prince Napoleon had only put into bolder language ideas to which his cousin had never concealed his own bias. No one knew this better than the Prince Consort, who had heard them from the Emperor's own lips, and he was thus thrown back upon conclusions long since formed, and in some measure expressed, that the only sure way to prevent these ideas from being acted upon, was for the Sovereigns of Europe to be at one with their subjects, and to remove every serious grievance which stood in the way of this harmonious understanding. Only of England

[9] The language used by Prince Napoleon with regard to the Bourbon and Orleans families led to the publication soon afterwards of a pamphlet, called *Lettre sur l'Histoire de France, adressée au Prince Napoléon*, by the Duc d'Aumale, which produced a great sensation in Paris, where it was not suppressed until it had obtained a large circulation. The *brochure* was damaging to the Napoleonic party, not less from the facts which it recalled, than from the singular ability with which they were applied. It was known to have caused the Emperor the greatest uneasiness. In a letter from a well-informed authority, among the Prince's papers, it is said that at a meeting of his Council, which had been called to consider what course should be taken in regard to it, the Emperor stopped the Ministers when they spoke of it as a tissue of falsehoods and exaggeration: 'No, gentlemen,' he said, with great firmness, 'it is not so. Nobody knows the truth so well as I do, and there is but one calumny in the letter, and that is the accusation against me—that while my mother was asking protection of Louis-Philippe, I was conspiring against him with some of the chiefs of the Republican party. In fact, I was ill in bed, with a bad sore throat. Louis-Philippe's reception of my mother was that of a father receiving his child. He folded his arms round her, and promised to do all he could for her and hers; and when she returned to my bedside, her face was still wet with the tears which she had shed.' The Emperor, through his secretary, M. Mocquard, published, a few days afterwards, an explicit denial of the Duc d'Aumale's accusation.

and Belgium, among the States of Europe, could it be said, that this harmony existed. The Emperor of Austria was trying to establish it, but he had hitherto failed for reasons which have been already indicated. The Russian Emperor had made a great stride in the same direction by the recent publication (3rd March, 1861) of a decree emancipating the serfs throughout his Empire. The action of Prussia was still undecided. The new King was being pressed on the one hand by the Liberal party in the Chambers to give to the country the full benefits of the Constitution granted by his brother; whilst, on the other, the party of Reaction, which had hitherto been predominant, were using their utmost endeavours to win the King over to their side.

It is obvious, the Prince Consort would have regarded their success with the gravest concern, as a calamity to be deprecated in the general interests of Europe, no less than of Germany herself. Under this feeling, apparently, he laid bare his mind to the King of Prussia in a letter dated the 12th of March:—

'The study,' he said, 'of the debates in the French Corps Législatif had forced upon him the conviction that we have reached a new turning-point in French politics.' Things could no longer go on as they had been doing. Financial embarrassments had become so great and so pressing, that the Emperor could not long delay coming to a reckoning with his people.[10] Neither could he continue in the ambiguous position in which he now stood, of leading the party of reaction in France, as having overthrown the revolution there and set up order in its place, while at the same time

[10] In fact, before the end of this year the Prince's anticipation was verified. M. Achille Fould was called in to apply his great financial skill to extricate the Empire from the difficulties of a long-continued excess of expenditure over revenue, and embodied his views in a Report, which was read to the Council of Ministers on the 12th of November. In compliance with one of its suggestions, the Emperor relinquished the power of opening supplementary or extraordinary credits, which had been the fertile source of wasteful extravagance.

he had in Italy cast in his lot with the revolutionary party there. The Emperor felt all the difficulty and perplexity of the situation; not so Prince Napoleon, by whom the principles of 1789 had been put forward as the basis of French greatness and of Napoleonism. The problem, as it seemed to the Prince Consort, admitted of no other solution, and consequently the way would be paved for revolutions in Hungary, Poland, Turkey, and Spain.

The Prince then went on to consider what made the danger for Europe, and how it was to be averted? The danger lay in the necessity under which the Emperor lay of diverting attention from the state of things at home by the hope of military successes and the acquisition of territory, but still more in the weakness of individual European States. He then continued:—

'Where then can Europe find a safeguard? In great armies, which are not animated by national spirit? Certainly not; but simply and solely in the thorough accord of princes with their people, in their mutual confidence, and in their being possessed by one common resolve. Unfortunately, this is extremely difficult for the Austrian Empire, as matters stand; nevertheless, praiseworthy efforts are making to bring the Government and its form into harmony with the wants and wishes of the people. In Russia, the time is unluckily a critical one; still, the Emperor is doing great things in the emancipation of the serfs, which will give him a hold on the feelings of the Russian people, probably strong enough to overcome and control those of the Polish nation. But it is in Germany that the true point and power of resistance should be found. Yet how stand matters there? Has satisfaction been given to the justifiable demands of the people, and to the most sacred promises of the Princes of 1848? I speak not of the democratic absur-

dities of that period. Or is Germany still, as of old, divided and broken up in its outward organisation, and are the individual States, despite their ostensibly conceded and often too democratic Constitutions, in reality merely States in which the police power and authority are paramount [*Polizei-Staaten*], and in which right and justice are mixed up with police government and administration, instead of standing independently and firmly as the safeguard of the Sovereign as well as of the subject, so as to make it possible for every man to feel himself independent of the arbitrary will of his ruler?

'It is not for me to answer the question, for I cannot say "no" to it.

'My hope, like that of most German patriots, rests upon Prussia—rests upon you!

'It rests upon Prussia, which has only to manipulate its Constitution skilfully, in order to find within itself all the means of satisfying the requirements of the time—of serving as a model for the other countries of Germany—and of ingratiating the sympathies of those countries in such a way, that they must desire the closest connection with the Prussian system. It rests upon you, as you have succeeded to the throne without being entangled or fettered by the miserable policy of reaction, to which, indeed, you were often yourself a victim, and because your known loyalty of character makes you regarded by the Germans as the type of their oldest saying "*Ein Wort, ein Mann!*" ["What he *says*, he *is*!"]. Confidence in you, as I felt myself compelled to write to you on a former occasion, is in effect the core and kernel of European safety. For the moment this is the political *summum bonum* of humanity; cherish it as the most precious jewel which God ever gave to any single human being. Whatever special difficulties may exist, whatever differences of opinion as to questions of detail, never for a moment let this fundamental thought slip from your grasp, and remember that confidence, like

affection, depends on its being reciprocal. Let no one succeed in shaking your confidence in your own people, and in the German nation! There are so many who make it their business to inspire princes with fear of their people. From this fear it is that the chief faults of governments, as well as the most infamous cruelties of history, have sprung. In what but fear have the ecclesiastical or political persecutions of all ages had their origin?

'Nations are prone to place their confidence in individuals; for, being many-headed, they feel it as a necessity that they shall be represented by some living person, in whom they can see themselves incarnate. Indeed, they are too prone, for they are often led astray by democratic leaders just as they are by monarchs. But if they find themselves deceived, then their suspiciousness knows no bounds, for they feel their own weakness, and how easy it is for the individual to deceive them. And once suspicion gets hold of them, confidence returns no more. Of this, a glance at Austria, at the Italian sovereigns, at the history of Louis XVI., furnishes woeful proofs.

'But with the national feeling once fairly roused through reliance on a Prince who is prepared to take the lead, the German people will suffice for itself, and needs to fear neither Italians, French, Hungarians, nor Poles; nay, it will even become a Power, which its neighbours (*The Times* included) will regard with respect.

'You will not ask, "Why do you write me all this?" for you know my friendship for you, and my German feelings, and we have already, throughout so many periods of difficulty, exchanged our thoughts so openly and frankly, that you must know I could not now be silent. At the same time, whilst gratifying my own inclination, I must take care not to weary you; so I conclude with the renewal of my best wishes for your welfare, and remain always your true friend and cousin,

'ALBERT.'

## CHAPTER CXI.

THE death of Sir George Couper was soon followed by that of the mistress whom he had long and loyally served. The Duchess of Kent had, in the beginning of March, undergone a surgical operation in the arm for the relief of an abscess, produced by a distressing affection which had for some time been undermining her strength. After their return from Osborne the Queen and Prince had visited her at Frogmore on the 12th, and found her suffering much pain, but showing no symptoms to create alarm. Up to the morning of the 15th the reports of her medical men were all favourable.

On that day the Queen and Prince went to inspect the new gardens of the Royal Horticultural Society at South Kensington, then approaching completion, from which the Queen returned alone, leaving the Prince to transact business with the Committee of the Society. While there he was suddenly summoned to Buckingham Palace by Sir James Clark, who had come up from Frogmore with the intelligence that the Duchess of Kent had been seized with a shivering fit, which he regarded as a very serious symptom. The Queen, who had only a short time before received a letter from Lady Augusta Bruce, the Duchess's lady-in-waiting, reporting that the Duchess had passed a good night, and seemed altogether better, describes herself in her Diary as 'resting quite happy in her armchair,' having finished her work for the day, when, soon after six o'clock, the Prince came in with the tidings which Sir James Clark had brought,

and said they ought to go to Frogmore. Without loss of time the Queen, with the Prince, and also the Princess Alice, went by train to Windsor. 'The way seemed so long,' is the entry in Her Majesty's Diary, 'but by eight we were at Frogmore. Here Lord James Murray and the ladies received us, and, alas! said it was just the same, but still I did not then realise what it really was. Albert went up, and when he returned with tears in his eyes I saw what awaited me. . . . With a trembling heart I went up the staircase and entered the bedroom, and here, on a sofa, supported by cushions, the room much darkened, sat, leaning back, my beloved Mama, breathing rather heavily, in her silk dressing-gown, with her cap on, looking quite herself.'

One of the Duchess's attendants said to the Queen, '*Es gibt gewiss ein sanftes Ende!*' ('The end will be easy!') 'Oh,' says the Diary just quoted, 'what agony, what despair was this! Seeing that our presence did not disturb her, I knelt before her, kissed her dear hand and placed it next my cheek; but, though she opened her eyes, she did not, I think, know me. She brushed my hand off, and the dreadful reality was before me, that for the first time she did not know the child she had ever received with such tender smiles! I went out to sob. . . . I asked the doctors if there was no hope. They said, they feared, none whatever, for consciousness had left her. . . . It was suffusion of water on the chest which had come on.'

Hours passed, partly in sad watching of the unconscious sufferer, partly in vain efforts to find oblivion in sleep. 'As the night wore on into the morning,' again to quote Her Majesty's Diary, 'I lay down on the sofa, at the foot of my bed, where at least I could lie still. I heard each hour strike, the cock crow, the dogs barking at a distance. Every sound seemed to strike into one's inmost soul. What would dearest Mama have thought of our passing a night under her roof, and she

not to know it! At four I went down again. All still—nothing to be heard but the heavy breathing, and the striking, at every quarter, of the old repeater, a large watch in a tortoiseshell case, which had belonged to my poor father, the sound of which brought back all the recollections of my childhood, for I always used to hear it at night, but had not heard it for now twenty-three years! I remained kneeling and standing by that beloved parent, whom it seemed too awful to see hopelessly leaving me, till half-past four, when, feeling faint and exhausted, I went upstairs again and lay down in silent misery, during which I went through in thought past times, and the fearful coming ones, with the awful blank which would make such an inroad into our happy family life.'

About half-past seven, the Queen returned to the Duchess's room, where the end was now visibly approaching. There was no return of consciousness. About eight o'clock, again to quote the Queen's Diary, 'Albert took me out of the room for a short while, but I could not remain. When I returned, the window was wide open, and both doors. I sat on a footstool, holding her dear hand. . . . Meantime the dear face grew paler (though, in truth, her cheeks had that pretty fresh colour they always had, up to within half-an-hour of the last), the features longer, sharper. The breathing became easier. I fell on my knees, holding the beloved hand, which was still warm and soft, though heavier, in both of mine. I felt the end was fast approaching, as Clark went out to call Albert and Alice, I only left gazing on that beloved face, and feeling as if my heart would break. . . . It was a solemn, sacred, never-to-be-forgotten scene.

'Fainter and fainter grew the breathing. At last it ceased; but there was no change of countenance, nothing; the eyes closed, as they had been for the last half-hour. . . . The clock struck half-past nine at the very moment. Con-

vulsed with sobs, I fell upon the hand, and covered it with kisses. Albert lifted me up and took me into the next room, himself entirely melted into tears, which is unusual for him, deep as his feelings are, and clasped me in his arms. I asked if all was over; he said, Yes!

'I went into the room again after a few minutes, and gave one look. My darling mother was sitting as she had done before, but was already white! O God! How awful! How mysterious! But what a blessed end! Her gentle spirit at rest, her sufferings over! But I,—I, wretched child!—who had lost the mother I so tenderly loved, from whom for these forty-one years I had never been parted except for a few weeks, what was my case? My childhood—everything seemed to crowd upon me at once. I seemed to have lived through a life, to have become old! What I had dreaded, and fought off the idea of for years, had come, and must be borne. The blessed future meeting, and *her* peace and rest, must henceforward be my comfort.

'My beloved Albert felt it, and feels it so intensely. He has shed so many tears; he was so tender and kind, and full of loving affection, of tender consideration to spare my feelings. Albert took me upstairs. Dear, good Alice was full of intense feeling, tenderness, and distress for me, and she, and all of them, loved "Grandmama" so dearly. I lay down on the sofa. The constant crying was a comfort and relief. But oh! the sickness of heart, the agony, the thought of the daily, hourly blank was and is unbearable! Never a day, that I did not get letters from or about her several times in the day! One foolishly fancies she must suffer from being deprived of all she loved, when she is above all, surely praying for us, and looking down on us with tender love and affection. . . .

'Albert said it was better to go at once into her dear sitting-room, where we so constantly saw her. We did so,

but oh, the agony of it! All, all unchanged,—chairs, cushions, everything,—all on the tables, her very work-basket with her work, the little canary bird, which she was so fond of—singing! In these two dear rooms, where we had so constantly seen her, where everything spoke of life, we remained a little while, to weep and pray, I kneeling down at her chair. Often and often did she receive me there this winter, leaning back, and complaining much of pain, and my visits cheered her.

'I returned upstairs (my dearest Albert having so much to do) and went over to dear Augusta Bruce's room. Here the first meeting was a most bitter, yet a most sweet one, for she loved her as I do! Such devotion and such love from one, not her own child, were most touching; she has been the comfort of her last days. She spoke of *her* love for me, I, of not feeling I ever half showed all I felt; but *she* never felt this! Oh, if only I could have been near her these last weeks! How I grudge every hour I did not spend with her! But it would have tired her. What a blessing we went on Tuesday. . . . The remembrance of her parting blessing, and her dear sweet smile will ever remain engraven on my heart.'

Again, during the morning, the Queen saw the beloved form once again. 'She lay on the same sofa, looking so beautiful, so peaceful, so noble, with a smile on her dear face, I thought she must speak. It was heartrending, yet comforting, after the long, sad struggle. The face had that wonderful paleness, which is unlike anything else. . . . I stroked the beloved cheek, which was still quite warm, but oh, what a burst of woe!' The pang was renewed, when the Prince of Wales and the Princess Helena arrived from London, and were taken by the Queen to see the 'beautiful, peaceful remains, like a marble statue,' of the grandmother to whom they were most tenderly attached.

The kindred had to be thought of, who were at a distance, and to whom the heavy news could be communicated by no hand but the Queen's,—the Princess Hohenlohe, Her Majesty's sister, the Princess Royal (Princess Frederick William of Prussia), and King Leopold. 'What *they* will all feel,' are the words of the Royal Diary, 'and my poor Uncle, the last of his generation!' To him, who had been the stay of the Duchess of Kent in the hour of her bereavement, and who had discharged the duties of a father to her orphaned child, the Queen turned with the natural yearnings of all but filial affection. It was thus she wrote to him:—

'Frogmore, 16th March, 1861.

'On this, the most dreadful day of my life, does your poor broken-hearted child write one line of love and devotion. *She* is gone,—that precious, dearly beloved tender mother, whom I never parted from but for a few months,—without whom I cannot imagine life—has been taken from us! It is too dreadful—but she is at peace,—her fearful sufferings at an end! Her death was quite painless; the breathing was heartrending to witness. I held her dear hand in mine to the very last, which I am truly thankful for! But the watching that precious life going out was fearful! Alas! She never knew me; but she was spared the pang of parting!

'How this will grieve and distress you! I trust to see you soon, you, who are now so doubly precious to us. Good Alice was with us all through, and deeply afflicted. Bertie and Lenchen are now here—all much grieved, and they have seen her sleeping peacefully and for ever.

'Dearest Albert is dreadfully overcome, and well he may be, for she adored him. I feel so truly *verwaist* (orphaned).

'God bless and protect you!

'The devotion of dearest Mama's ladies and maids is not

to be described! Their love and their devotion are too touching.'

If anything could soothe the feelings of her child at such an hour, it would have been to see how loved and how mourned the Duchess of Kent was by every member of her household from the highest to the lowest. Some of them had been in her service for more than thirty years, and there was not one but felt that in her a dear friend had been lost. When, as evening drew on, the hour came for the Queen and Prince to leave the house, endeared to them by so many associations, and go to Windsor Castle, they left it through a crowd of familiar faces bathed in tears, every one of whom had some special link of association with her, whom they were to see no more. 'It was,' as the record already quoted notes, 'a fearful moment. All lit up, as when we had arrived the night before. I clung to the dear room, to the house, to all,—and the arriving at Windsor Castle was dreadful.'

The Duchess had left a will, giving all her property to the Queen, and appointing the Prince Consort her sole executor. This threw upon him at once a heavy burden in examining her papers and correspondence, and making the necessary arrangement of her affairs,—a burden made more heavy by the recent death of Sir George Couper, who was alone conversant with them. The Queen, in her Diary of this sad day, seems to be unable to speak enough of the Prince's gentle and considerate tenderness. 'He was so tender and kind, so pained to have to ask me distressing questions, but spared me so much. Everything done so quietly and feelingly.' All through the trying days and weeks that followed, he never failed in that watchful, unselfish, sympathetic care, which gives to a husband's love a depth and earnestness beyond the most passionate devotion of a lover.

On hearing by telegram of her grandmother's death, the

Princess Royal at once set out from Berlin for England, and reached Windsor Castle, to the great joy of her parents, on the evening of the 18th. Not till that day was the Prince able to find leisure to write the following letter to Baron Stockmar, who, of all living men, was the best able to appreciate the grief which the Duchess's death had brought upon the Royal household, and of all his friends the one who would share it most fully. The Baron had been with the Duchess in her darkest hour of trouble. It was from his lips she learned that the illness of her husband was fatal. He was beside her when he died. No one knew better the difficulties, the jealousies, the misrepresentations, which it had been her lot to encounter. No one knew better how loyal she had been to the great trust, which the opening to her daughter of the succession to the English crown had devolved upon her. 'Nature,' he says in his Autobiography (*Denkwürdigkeiten*, p. 113), 'had endowed her with warm feelings, and she was by sheer natural instinct truthful, affectionate and friendly, unselfish, sympathetic, and even magnanimous.' Such a tribute from a man so penetrating and so austere in his judgment was praise indeed.

'Accustomed as I have been for so many years to share my joys and sorrows with you, my thoughts have been much with you. You were so truly devoted to the poor departed, and know too what the loss of her is to us! Victoria's grief is terrible; when she has somewhat regained her composure she will write to you, and this will do her good.

'Clark sends you his report to-day on the event, to which I have nothing to add, but my conviction that from the moment her malady assumed a deadly form Mama did not suffer. Unfortunately she was unable to recognise us when we hurried to her on Friday evening at eight. . . .

'Death has saved her many a pang by which we can now

see she would have been afflicted; and we must thank God for His gracious kindness. That she had not to take leave of us, and of this earth, is also a blessing.

'My telegram will, I fear, have caused you great distress. Let me hope you have now your son beside you, as we expect our daughter to-day. I trust you will make him send me a line to say how you are.

'Yesterday we had tidings of Alfred's safe arrival at Barbadoes after some heavy gales. The other children will all be united round us. Louise celebrates her birthday to-day (!), and will even receive the presents which her Grandmama had been at special pains to select for her.

'Windsor Castle, 18th March, 1861.'

The death of the Duchess of Kent excited deep and general sympathy throughout the country. Men's minds ran back to the days when by the death of her husband, in the vigour of his manhood, she had been suddenly left, under circumstances of peculiar difficulty, with the responsibility thrown upon her of training up the probable future Sovereign of England, then a child of only eight months old. They remembered she had fulfilled that duty in so exemplary a way, that, when (15th November, 1830), introducing the Bill by which she was appointed Regent in the event of the accession of the Princess Victoria to the throne before coming of age, Lord Lyndhurst, speaking for the Government, had said it was impossible they should recommend any other individual for that office. 'The manner,' he added, 'in which her Royal Highness the Duchess of Kent has hitherto discharged her duty in the education of her illustrious offspring—and I speak on the subject, not from vague report, but from accurate information—gives us the best ground to hope most favourably of her Royal Highness's future conduct. Looking at the past it is evident that we cannot find a better

guardian for the time to come.' They knew that the high hopes thus expressed had not been belied; and gratitude was mingled with respect and regret in the feeling with which the announcement of her death was received.

Both Houses of Parliament lost no time in voting addresses of condolence to the Queen. In the House of Lords the Address was moved by Lord Granville in a graceful speech, in which, after calling attention to the words of Lord Lyndhurst, he spoke of the benign influence wrought upon the character and happiness of the Sovereign by the wise training of her early years. The Address was seconded in the warmest terms by Lord Derby. Nor was Lord Palmerston less eloquent and sympathetic in moving the Address in the House of Commons. 'To the care and attention of the late Duchess of Kent,' he said, 'we owe, in a great degree, that full development which we so much admire, of those eminent qualities, by which our Sovereign is distinguished; while, on the other hand, the affectionate care of the Sovereign has enabled her to repay, by her kindness and attention, those advantages which the mother was able to confer in the earliest years of her daughter's existence.' Mr. Disraeli touched a deeper chord in seconding the Address.

'The ties,' he said, 'which united her Majesty to her lamented parent were not only of an intimate, but a peculiar character. In the history of our reigning House none were ever placed as the widowed Princess and her royal child. Never before devolved on a delicate sex a more august or a more awful responsibility. How these great duties were encountered—how fulfilled—may be read in the conscience of a grateful and a loyal people. Therefore the name of the Duchess of Kent will remain in our history from its interesting and benignant connection with an illustrious reign. For the great grief which has fallen on the Queen there is only one source of human consolation—the recollec-

tion of unbroken devotedness to the being whom we have loved, and whom we have lost. That tranquillising and sustaining memory is the inheritance of our Sovereign. It is generally supposed that the anguish of affection is scarcely compatible with the pomp of power, but that is not so in the present instance. She who reigns over us has elected, amid all the splendour of empire, to establish her life on the principle of domestic love. It is this, it is the remembrance and consciousness of this, which now sincerely saddens the public spirit, and permits a nation to bear its heart-felt sympathy to the foot of a bereaved throne, and to whisper solace to a royal heart.'

A brief entry in the Prince's Diary (19th March) shows how gratified he was by the prevailing sympathy for the loss of one, whom he loved with all the devotion of a son. To reply to the countless letters of condolence was no ordinary task. They were chiefly from those who knew the Duchess well, and to whom formal replies would have been out of place. Thus he wrote (19th March) to Sir Robert Gardiner, an old and valued friend :—

'Many thanks for your expression of sympathy on the present mournful occasion. You knew the Duchess so long, that you can fully appreciate our loss, and you have known the Queen so long that you can fully appreciate her grief. Her health has not suffered, thank God! and the dear Duchess is in a happier state in a better world. This ought to console us, but there is comfort in pain also. It acts as a link between the departed and those remaining behind, as love was the link which united them before.'

The Queen's sister was unable to obey the dictates of her heart, and to come at once to England ; but she hastened to write such words of consolation, as her own bereavements and

deeply religious nature had taught her, for a grief in which she bore an equal part:—

'Yesterday,' she wrote from Baden (19th March), 'I received your dear melancholy letter written on that dreadful day, which has been the last of our beloved Mama's life. I cannot believe it yet, although I was more uneasy about her than you, dearest. Lady Augusta's letters were not calculated to make me feel reassured about the dear invalid. But, dearest sister, let not your grief overcome you. The beloved departed spirit would say so to you, if she could. Her lot must be a blessed one now; such a heart as hers must feel peace; and the love she has ever shown to others will be repaid a thousandfold by her merciful God. I find the only comfort in such deep afflictions is in thinking of those dear ones free from the pain we suffer, and in loving those that are left to us with all our heart, and doing good to others in their name and intentions, forgetting as much as possible our own bereavement. . . .

'If I could but once have looked on dear Mama's face again! I am sure it looks peaceful and happy even now. My heart is full of gratitude for all her love—alas! lost to me in this life for ever! but to live again hereafter with her, never to be separated. God bless and comfort you (and me)!'

Letters came also to the Queen, full of sympathy and encouragement, from King Leopold. To these Her Majesty replied:—

'Buckingham Palace, 20th March, 1861.

'Your two dear sad letters of the 17th and 18th have reached me, and I offer my warmest thanks for them. I knew what you would feel, and do feel! It is dreadful,

dreadful to think we shall never see that dear kind loving face again; never hear that dear voice again!

'My grief is unbounded, and I find, like you, nothing but quiet, and even solitude can do good. . . . Ill I am not. I can sleep since Tuesday, and since yesterday I can eat; but the bursts of grief, and yearning, *Sehnsucht und Wehmuth*, are fearful, and at times unbearable. . . .

'She looked so peaceful and beautiful, so noble, so calm, it seemed as if she must speak to me again. . . . Her peace and rest are great; our loss is her gain. But the blank of every day and every hour is what will never be replaced. A mother one can only possess once, and what is there like a tender mother's love! And who ever was so tender, so loving, so kind, so forgiving, so simple, so loveable?

'The universal regret and sympathy of the nation, the universal respect for her memory, the numberless expressions of affectionate remembrance from people who had known her, are most soothing and gratifying. The love and grief of those who served her are most touching. Dear Lady Augusta Bruce has been like her child, and feels just as if she had lost a second mother. . . .

'Poor Mr. Brown' [of Windsor, the Duchess of Kent's physician], 'whom I saw for the first time to-day, as he has been ill ever since, was most devoted and attentive, and certainly managed her wonderfully well. But he says, even if the shivering fit had not come on, she could not have lived above a few weeks, and that her life at last would have been one of such very great suffering, that we could not wish it to have been prolonged. He tells me that he thinks poor Aunt Julia's death did her decided harm' (*ante*, p. 172), 'and that he dated the rapid progression of her malady from that time.

'It is a great trial and a great sorrow to me not to have Feodore (Princess Hohenlohe) with me now; we should be such a comfort to one another.

'Albert's devotion, tenderness, and consideration for me are beyond all words. He feels her loss so deeply. He has had, and has, a fearful deal to do. All devolves on him; he is sole executor. Everything is in perfect order. Poor Sir George being gone, too, makes it doubly sad. God bless and preserve you, and do come soon to us.'

The funeral of the Duchess took place on the 25th, in St. George's Chapel, Windsor, where the body was deposited, until a mausoleum at Frogmore could be completed. The Prince Consort acted as chief mourner, supported by the Prince of Wales and Prince Leiningen. The pall-bearers were Lady Augusta Bruce, Lady Fanny Howard, Lady Couper, Lady Susan Melville, Lady C. Harcourt, and Lady Cust, who had all been at some time ladies in waiting to the Duchess. The scene was deeply affecting. So widely was the Duchess beloved, there was scarcely, as was remarked at the time, a dry eye to be seen. The Dean of Windsor was so affected that he almost broke down in reading the service. 'No one,' he said to the Queen, 'could speak of the Duchess without tears in their eyes; she was so kind to every one.' The Prince Consort was deeply moved, and came back, the Queen noted, 'pale, with red eyes, which showed how much he had been affected.' 'That evening,' the Queen writes in her Diary, 'we dined alone, and remained quietly writing and reading. I showed Albert, who read them aloud, the letters from dearest Mama to her friend Pauline Wagner, giving an account of my poor father's illness and death, which are very touching and distressing. That illness lasted a fortnight. We stayed up till half-past eleven reading them, and so ended this sad, sad day.'

Next day Her Majesty wrote to King Leopold:—

'I and our daughters did not go yesterday; it would have

been far too much for me, and Albert, when he returned, with tearful eyes, told me it was well I did not go, so affecting had been the sight, so universal the sympathy. I and my girls prayed at home together, and dwelt on her happiness and peace. But oh, dearest uncle, the loss, the truth of it, which I cannot, do not realise, even when I go (as I do daily) to Frogmore. The blank becomes daily worse. The constant intercourse of forty-one years cannot cease without leaving fearful wounds, which time may heal, but never entirely. To think that, in future, family events will occur, without her participation, her loving sympathy, is too dreadful.

'I have appointed Lady Augusta Bruce—whom dearest Mama had quite taken into her house since [her mother] the Dowager Lady Elgin's death, and who was like Mama's daughter, and mourns her with true filial affection and sorrow—my resident Bedchamber-woman, to live with me, which will be a great comfort to me.'

In the volume of the Princess Hohenlohe's letters, from which extracts have more than once been taken, are preserved several letters to the Queen at this time, which may fitly be quoted to complete the picture of the gracious qualities of the Duchess of Kent, and of the way she was mourned:—

'Baden, 30th March, 1861.

'. . . Two most precious sad letters are before me, that of the 25th, and of the 28th just received. They give me details, and tell what no one else can tell me, and express my own feelings. Dearest sister, in that name is everything; she we have lost loved us both alike, although I was often jealous of you, and told dear Mama that she loved you more. Then, with one of her sad smiles, she would say, "*Feodore, versündige dich nicht, ich liebe euch beide gleich*" ("Feodore, do not misjudge me, I love you both alike"), and

so she did. How she always welcomed me on arriving, and was sad at our parting! The last parting is before me now. Much as I long to go and see you, dearest sister, at the idea of not finding her my heart sinks within me.

'You say that looking through her things, touching what belonged to her, opening her drawers, &c., is to you as if doing something very wrong. Oh! how I and Hermann felt that after dear Ernest's [her husband's] death! I could hardly bring myself to do it, because I knew how particular he was that nobody should get at his things; and then—oh! it is too dreadful! I know that but too well. It must be got over, though, once; but at first is quite impossible. All you tell me of that last farewell you took at Frogmore, and of the 25th, has made me weep so. Alas! not new to me those scenes, that are ever present afterwards to the mind. . . .

'I am so thankful for your sisterly love and kindness, done in the name of her who was our mother.'

Again, a few days later (5th April), the Princess Hohenlohe writes:—

'. . . I can see our beloved, departed Mama so vividly before me at every moment, that I think she must be living still, and that I must see her again. Every look, every smile and gesture is graven in my memory. All pictures and photographs rather do harm to that impression I have of her dear self. Only the photograph with Affie [Prince Alfred] you sent me, I could look at for ever. I feel, dearest sister, what it must have cost you to take those precious things from their places in the rooms at Frogmore, and thank you accordingly. . . .

'I have read the sermon, and like it much. It is most touching to hear and read everywhere the same expressions of admiration and love, and "*Anerkennung*" [recognition],

about our beloved, adored mother. "*Ihr Andenken bleibt im Segen*" ["her memory is ever blessed"].

'I hope and trust Osborne will do you good, dearest. Nature is becoming so beautiful now. It makes one even more "*wehmüthig*" [wistfully sad] to see spring coming, as if there were no sadness in the world; but it is such a beautiful picture, too, of the resurrection of what was dead a short time ago;[1] there is no death, but everything is life with God. He is Life Himself, and those that are with Him shall live for ever in His glory.'

The Queen's letters to her sister showed too plainly that she had not yet succeeded in mastering her sorrow. How beautiful in the following letter is the subtle appeal to Her Majesty to follow the example of the Duchess, who for her sake had kept a firm hand over her own sorrow, in the dark hours when she was left widowed and forlorn at Sidmouth in January, 1820:—

'The task of sorting and reading dear Mama's papers is sad; but at this moment it is the only occupation you can take an interest in. I know all that so well from last year. Indeed, I well remember that dreadful time at Sidmouth. I recollect praying on my knees, that God would not let your dear Father die. I loved him dearly. He always was so kind to me. Our beloved Mama was deeply afflicted, but very resigned, and careful not to give way too much to her grief. . . .

'Poor Mama! she has had bitter trials. But she was rewarded in after years, seeing you happy in every way, and living near her; and if she could speak to you now, she would tell you not to mourn too much, now that she is happy.

[1] 'There is nothing like Nature,' the Princess Hohenlohe says in a future letter 'to soothe an aching heart, for the beauties of Nature are the revelation of a loving and Almighty God.

Dear, dear Mama! One look from her would be such a comfort; but there is the pain of never in this world seeing that beloved face more, hearing her voice no more. . . .'

In another letter (15th May) the following passage occurs:—

'It was one of dearest Mama's charming characteristics to have kept so much youthful feeling about her—her mind was young to the last. How we shall always miss those warm feelings of tender love, and sympathy, and kindness.'

On the 22nd of May the Princess writes to the Queen:—

'. . . These lines will, I hope, reach you on your birthday. Let me wish you many happy returns, and all the blessings our Heavenly Father can give. I know that at this moment life appears sad and almost a burden, with this grief weighing on your heart and mind; but when you think of our dearest mother's love, who, if she could, would have taken everything heavy from you, you will try to bear up under this heavy affliction for her sake; she would say so to you, if she could. Her prayers will be, that peace, and resignation, and comfort be given to you, her beloved child, while she herself is happy and free from all pain and trouble.'

On the Queen's birthday, her sister's thoughts were more than ever with her; and on that day (24th May) she wrote:—

'My thoughts are much with you to-day; I must write a few words. Could I but see how you are, how you go through this day, with all its different recollections and feelings. May you never have so sad a birthday in all your life, but many, many happy years to enjoy the blessings God has given you!

'The memory of our dear beloved mother will ever remain

fresh in our hearts, live on with us, as if that blessed spirit were still among us; it will grow into a soft melancholy feeling of something most precious we have lost and miss for ever, and make us long to be with her at rest. We know that the love she bore us cannot die, but lives on with and for us, even more perfect than here, but we cannot see it, and there is the pain, the anguish of losing her in this world. Time alone can take away some of the acuteness of this dreadful *Heimweh* [home sickness].'

The death of the Duchess of Kent added in many ways to the labours of the Prince Consort. Besides the shock of losing one so dear, and the strain of subduing his own emotions, that he might better sustain and comfort the Queen in this the first very great sorrow of her life, he was compelled to take upon himself for the time even more than his wonted labours, in lightening for Her Majesty the daily and hourly duties of communication with her Ministers. Then all the painful and harassing labour, which devolved on him as the Duchess's executor, of examining the papers and correspondence accumulated during a long and busy life, and of arranging the claims of kinsfolk, of old retainers and others, was no slight aggravation of his fatigues. He bore them without a murmur, and, in this time of great family distress, gave fresh proofs of the patient, cheerful, considerate spirit,—thinking for all, and feeling for all,—which toil, and trial, and disappointment seemed only to ripen into fuller beauty.

The presence of their eldest daughter with them at this time was a source of great comfort to the Queen and Prince. She remained with them till the 2nd of April, on which day she returned to Berlin, taking with her the following letter to the King of Prussia:—

'Windsor Castle, 1st of April, 1861.

'My dear Cousin,—Our dear Vicky will leave us again

to-morrow morning early, and I hope she will be safely restored to her family. Her stay here has been a great comfort and delight to us in our sorrow and bereavement, and we are truly grateful for it.

'Your last friendly letter crossed mine. Since then it has become very plain to both of us, that we each form our conclusions as to the present state of affairs from different points of view: you, from what is close to you, surrounded by conflicting demands, vexations, apprehensions, &c. &c.; I, from a more distant point, where, being emancipated by distance from local distractions, I am in a position to take note of general laws, but laws at the same time which govern even those details. Looking from this point of view, and after weighing all the unpleasant special circumstances, so far as known to me, I can only say to you, "Do not let yourself be vexed by the worries and perils of the moment, but keep a good heart and good humour, for you have an excellent position, so long as you do not let yourself be separated from your people!"

'How different is the position of Prussia from what it was in 1848, whilst the neighbouring countries are essentially much weaker than they then were! This Prussia owes, this you owe, to the Constitution, which, by its principle of representation, brings sovereign and people into legitimate and immediate contact, and makes discussion and explanation possible. The latter years of the late King unquestionably made it possible for a party to inspire the people with the apprehension of their being again deprived by their rulers of the jewel so hardly won, and to this much of the vacillation which you see is due. But your character has served your subjects as a guarantee that they have nothing to fear; and although the settlement and final arrangement of many points has been retarded by stress of circumstances, and will have to be postponed, yet it is only natural that their solution should be asked for and expected from you.

'Here Easter has caused a lull in the political world. All our ministers are dispersed, we ourselves purpose going the day after to-morrow to the Isle of Wight for some weeks, as Victoria cannot well appear in the bustle of town and of the season.

'Vicky will have a world of things to tell you about us. I remain with the heartiest greetings for my dear cousin, always your true cousin and friend,

'ALBERT.'

In the midst of all the Prince's labours, Baron Stockmar was not forgotten, and on the 5th of April he wrote to him as follows:—

'I write from Osborne, to which we retired three days since. Our leave-taking of Windsor and Frogmore was a very painful one, still the Queen's mind will find more rest here. She is greatly upset, and feels her whole childhood rush back once more upon her memory with the most vivid force; and with those recollections comes back the thought of many a sad hour. . . . Her grief is extreme, and she feels acutely the loss of one whom she cherished and tended with affectionate and dutiful devotion. For the last two years her constant care and occupation have been to keep watch over her mother's comfort, and the influence of this upon her own character has been most salutary. In body she is well, though terribly nervous, and the children are a disturbance to her. She remains almost entirely alone. . . . You may conceive it was and is no easy task for me to comfort and support her and to keep others at a distance, and yet at the same time not to throw away the opportunity, which a time like the present affords, of binding the family together in a closer bond of unity.

'By business I am well-nigh overwhelmed, as I do my

utmost to save Victoria all trouble, while at the same time I am Mama's sole executor. As Sir G. Couper died just fourteen days before Mama, and was not able to hand over her complicated affairs to any one, I am wholly without advice or assistance, and have to puzzle out everything bit by bit, and to hunt up whatever is necessary for their comprehension. To add to which, Lady Phipps had a nervous seizure the day after Mama's death, and Sir Charles has not been able to leave her side since, and is detained in London powerless to help me.

'Mama has remembered all her relations. . . . The Queen takes upon herself the pensioning of her servants, and the continuance of the allowances to the Princess Hohenlohe and her sons Victor and Edward Leiningen. She has taken Lady Augusta Bruce (permanently) into her own household, who is not only very acceptable for her own sake, but may be of the greatest use to her as a kind of female secretary. She is a most excellent person, and was a great stay to dear Mama, besides being always cheerful in her temper and having a kind heart.

'The Princess Royal has arrived safely in Berlin, and the Prince of Wales goes back to Cambridge on Monday. He is to take military duty at the camp of the Curragh of Kildare in Ireland during the summer vacation.

'Now farewell! I hope the approaching spring weather may not prove too exhausting for you.'

## CHAPTER CXII.

WHILE the Queen and Prince were living in retirement at Osborne, an article appeared in *The Times* (12th April), which caused the Prince great annoyance, by insinuating, not for the first time, that the Italian policy of the Government was thwarted by the influence of the Court. It was written with an air of knowledge, obviously meant to give its innuendo an almost official weight:—

'What we must all desire,' it said, 'is, that Lord Palmerston and Lord John Russell should be able to convince Foreign Powers that *in no quarter* is there any antipathy to the Italian cause. As long as these statesmen are unable to conceal from the diplomatists with whom they deal, that they maintain their policy *only* through the support given them by the strong feeling of *the people*, it will be impossible for England to have her just weight in European affairs. The country has a right to expect that neither Vienna nor Berlin shall have *reason to cherish expectations in disaccord with the warnings of the Crown's responsible Ministers*.'

The implied insinuation that the Court was impeding the action of Lord Palmerston and the Foreign Secretary was too obvious to be mistaken. Indeed, it was soon ascertained that the article was written with the express intention of conveying this imputation, but without any warrant of authority, it need scarcely be said, from these two distinguished statesmen. None knew better than they did, that the insinuation was utterly unfounded, for none had such good reason to know, that of all impossible things the most

impossible was, that the Queen or the Prince Consort should do anything disloyal to the statesmen on whom the responsibility of Government rested. They were not so ignorant, either, of the true state of things at the Courts of Berlin and Vienna as to suppose that the action of these Courts could be influenced in a matter of this sort by such calculations as were pointed to by the writer of the article in question.

It was hard, the Prince felt, after the long years in which he had shown how completely he understood and reverenced the English Constitution, that he should be exposed to an attack of this kind, which he could not but feel was in reality aimed against himself. He had, indeed, long since schooled himself to bear such attacks with equanimity, in so far as they affected himself only, but it was impossible to blind his eyes to the mischievous influence upon the public mind of insinuations to which it was difficult to believe that the leading journal would be so reckless or malevolent as to give a place, without having first ascertained them to be true. If the article meant anything at all, it meant that he who occupied a position of 'double trust' next to the throne—a trust to the Sovereign and to the nation—was using it to encourage the Courts of Vienna and Berlin to persevere in a policy, which the English nation and the English Government condemned. And yet, not eight months afterwards, the same journal, which put forth this charge, wrote of the Prince in these terms:—

'In him we have had as true an Englishman as the most patriotic native of these Islands. He has had the sagacity to see and feel, that the interests of his family and his dynasty had claims upon him superior to any other, and at no period has our foreign policy been less subject to the imputation of subservience to foreign interests and relations, than during the last twenty years'—(*Times*, 16th December, 1861).

The truth was, that just at this time the patience of

Austria had been nearly exhausted by the intrigues which were actively on foot for insurrection on her Venetian and Danubian frontiers, as well as in Dalmatia and Hungary. Her army in Venetia was in a high state of preparation, but it was becoming demoralised by the state of suspense in which it was kept. Believing that war must come, her statesmen were of a mind that the sooner it came the better, for the Sardinian forces were notoriously in no state to cope with those which Austria could bring into the field. On the other hand, the Emperor of the French had definitively declared that he should continue to occupy Rome and the surrounding territory with his troops, and that, if Sardinia provoked Austria by an inroad on Venetia, she must not count on his assistance. The delay thus interposed to their hopes of an united Italy was naturally galling to those impatient spirits, who looked at the question entirely from their own side, and who in their surprise that Austria should determine to hold Venetia, (which had been virtually guaranteed to her by France in the Peace of Villafranca,) although pressed by English statesmen to abandon it, were, like the writer in *The Times*, driven to find an explanation of her obstinacy in the assumption that she was encouraged in it by the English Court!

The quiet and seclusion of Osborne proved beneficial to the Queen. They were very necessary to enable her to rally from the dejection caused by her recent bereavement. On the 15th of April the Prince wrote to Baron Stockmar:—

'. . . The Queen is recovering, but very slowly: the shock to her was certainly very serious.

'We have good news of Alfred from Montserrat, St. Christopher, and Nevis. The Prince of Wales is back at Maddingley, and is now pursuing his studies in Constitutional Law at Cambridge.

'Yesterday we celebrated little Beatrice's fourth birthday. The old woman in the children's Swiss cottage celebrated her eighty-fourth, which greatly interested the little one.'

'Home politics,' continued the Prince, 'have quite gone to sleep.' It was very different with foreign politics, in which Italy, Poland, Hungary, Denmark, and Turkey were all subjects of anxiety. In the English treatment of these, he added, 'it is impossible to discover any principle; but one thing is very plain, that, all through, the anti-German side is taken with passionate warmth. What pain this causes me you may imagine—I can do nothing, and yet I know full well, the issue must be to the advantage of France, and the ultimate detriment of England. I must comfort myself with your mother's proverb about the cow's tail.'[1]

The same day this letter was written (15th April) Mr. Gladstone introduced his Budget. If home politics generally had gone to sleep, there was no abatement of the interest with which this important event of the Session was regarded. Indeed it was looked forward to with more than usual curiosity, in the general eagerness to learn the result of the bold financial operations of the previous year. This was much less unfavourable than had been generally anticipated. Although the revenue had not come up to the estimate, and was short of that of the previous year by 806,000*l.*, the expenditure had proved to be less by very nearly the same sum. On the accounts for the year the deficiency was only 855,000*l.* This deficiency Mr. Gladstone hoped would be more than compensated by the estimated surplus for the current year, which he computed at close upon two millions. He calculated

[1] 'Providence has taken care that the cow's tail doesn't grow too long (*Unser Herrgott sorgt, dass der Kuh der Schwanz nicht zu lang wachse*).' This was a favourite saying with King Leopold also, at critical moments when things seemed to be going wrong—(Stockmar's *Denkwürdigkeiten*, p. 2.)

on having a balance in hand sufficient to enable him to take a penny off the Income Tax, and to repeal the Paper duty, continuing, however, the Tea and Sugar duties at their existing scale.

The repeal of the Paper duty formed, as might have been expected, the chief object of attack; and was in fact only carried by a narrow majority in the House of Commons. Remembering the misadventure which had befallen the proposition in the House of Lords the previous session, Mr. Gladstone secured himself against its recurrence, by including it in one Bill with all his other financial propositions, instead of dividing these in the ordinary way into several distinct Bills. Exception was taken to this course as unconstitutional, and the issue thus raised was only decided in favour of the Ministry, after long and animated debates, by a majority of 15 in a house of 577 members. A motion adverse to the measure was proposed in the House of Lords by the Duke of Rutland, but withdrawn in deference to the wishes of Lord Derby and other Peers, who, having no longer the same motive to resist the abolition of the Paper duty, inasmuch as the deficit of the previous year had given place to a surplus in the calculations for that now current, deprecated a course which would have appeared to be merely retaliatory, while prolonging discussions already sufficiently embittered.

The debates upon the Budget brought prominently into notice the wide divergence of views which existed between the Government and man of its supporters, including some of its own members, on the subject of the expenditure for national defences. In the course of his speech on the 18th of April Mr. Gladstone indicated, in very broad terms, his own opinion, that the country had been led by unfounded apprehensions into an extravagant expenditure for the purpose of providing against contingencies of danger from abroad, which he regarded as improbable. As it was only in

the protection of our shores, and in the improvement of our navy, that any great increase in the national expenditure had arisen, no other construction could be put upon the following passage in his speech, even although its suggestion of unjustifiable expenditure was succeeded by the assurance that he did not refer to the estimates for the year, which he admitted were required 'by the circumstances taken as a whole, in which we stand:'—

'If,' he said, 'there be any one danger which has recently in any especial manner beset us, I confess that, though it may be owing to some peculiarity in my position, or to some weakness in my vision, danger has seemed to me to lie during recent years chiefly in an increased susceptibility to excitement, in our proneness to constant and apparently boundless augmentations of expenditure.'

There was no gainsaying the truism by which this statement was followed, that 'all excess in public expenditure beyond the legitimate wants of the country is not only a pecuniary waste, but a great political, and, above all, a great moral evil.' But as parsimony in public no less than in private affairs is ever the worst economy, so it was obvious that unless it could be shown that 'the legitimate wants of the country' had been exceeded, the natural presumption was, that what was here implicitly condemned as waste was only legitimate outlay. It did not, therefore, escape notice that the Chancellor of the Exchequer's suggestion was echoed neither by the Prime Minister, nor by the Foreign Secretary, either of whom, from his position and special responsibilities, was more likely to know what were and what were not the legitimate wants of the country, having regard to the state of affairs in Europe. On the contrary, they gave no sign that the efforts to bring up our national defences to a higher standard could with safety be relaxed. And, when silence became no longer possible, in the face of

reiterated appeals to them from the so-called Peace party to set the example to Europe of disarming, Lord John Russell showed that nothing was further from their thoughts than any change of a policy which had been spoken of by their own Chancellor of the Exchequer as prompted by undue 'susceptibility to excitement.'

At the close of an incidental discussion on the Italian question (10th July), Lord John Russell used the following decisive language :—

'It is a great misfortune for England, and it is a great misfortune for Europe, that such costly armaments should be kept up in time of peace; but we should not remedy that, if we were to disarm, and to leave other nations to increase their preparations. I trust that no short-sighted view of our interests, no narrow saving with regard to any particular tax, will induce this country, in the present state of Europe and the world, to maintain a navy and an army which are not adequate in all respects to the position which we ought to occupy. Not merely the greatness, but the very safety of this country is concerned in her state of preparation. So far from increasing the probability of war, as some have thought, I believe the knowledge that this country is strong is not only advantageous for her own interests, but is a weapon in the hand of every other Power that seeks for independence and for liberty. The knowledge that this country is able, and in a just cause is ready to assume the offensive, at the same time that she prizes the blessings which result from peace and the prosperity of her own commerce and manufactures, is, I believe, a guarantee for the independence of nations, and a security at the same time for the peace of Europe.'

These words inspired confidence in the country, and removed the misgivings of the Opposition. It was obvious that possible causes of European strife were present to the mind of the speaker, of which those who had not access to official information were of necessity ignorant, and as to which he was bound to maintain that wary silence which a generous Opposition will never seek to force a responsible

Minister to break, or to embarrass him for maintaining. And when the time shall arrive for a full revelation of the precarious tenure by which peace in Europe was at this period maintained, the soundness of the principles advanced by Lord John Russell will be amply vindicated.

In the spring of 1861, the question of the Duchies of Schleswig and Holstein had assumed a critical aspect. Denmark had agreed to submit the budget for that State to the local Diets, but refused to allow them a voice in discussing or disputing its details. She was thus brought into direct conflict with the German Diet, which saw in this assertion of Royal prerogative a step towards the ultimate incorporation of Schleswig with the Kingdom of Denmark. Federal execution was threatened; the dispute was taken up keenly by Prussia, and a collision between Germany and Denmark had become imminent. The Prince had no sympathy with the way in which the subject was handled by Prussia, whose own system of administration scarcely qualified her to be the champion of popular rights. On the 3rd of May he wrote to King Leopold:—

'Were I at the head of the Prussian Government I would go to work with all the energy I could command; doing so, however, from pure patriotism, prompted by sincere enthusiasm for popular rights, for a Constitutional system, freedom, and German unity, and not actuated by hypocritical feelings, like those of the Prussian Government, which makes an immoral "convenience" of the Holstein question, lays stress in Denmark upon the maintenance of the rights of the States to control their own Budget, and at home raises money for the augmentation of the army without the knowledge of the Chambers, and in the face of all its promises to them, and which in its heart will not listen to a word on the subject of popular rights. Standing in such a position as this, Prussia

ought to hold her peace, and nothing but mischief can happen to her from dealing with it, just as happened in 1848, 1849, and 1850.'

Again, in writing two days before to a friend in Germany, the Prince said:—

'A foreign war, as the means of getting rid of internal differences and inconveniences, is at all times a proceeding wholly unjustifiable in a moral point of view. People constantly forget that these same inconveniences, these personal foibles, internal conflicts, &c., which are the obstacles to the solution of home difficulties, are also the very moving causes which must stand most seriously in the way of a success upon the great arena of war. A *coup de tête* is always the most perilous of enterprises for a politician, and no less is the hazard run by the man who shall plunge into great European dangers in order to escape those which confront him at home. . . .

'Prussia, broken up and distracted as she is, being no more than a section of Germany, although the other sections are well disposed towards her—Prussia, with a policy which has not yet found a principle of its own to rest upon, hampered and rendered vulnerable on all her outlying frontiers by alliances and treaties of all kinds, is assuredly not in a position to undertake any great venture without coming to grief. This is a point on which many Prussians are dazzled and misled by the quite exceptional case of Frederick the Great.

'Prussia must first be morally master of Germany before she can lift up her head in Europe, and this she will become, not by sudden resolutions, not by wild, impulsive yearnings, not by urging claims diplomatically, but by a slow, well-thought-out, persistent, courageous, truly German and

thoroughly liberal policy,—a policy which meets the requirements of the age and of the German nation, and makes it impossible for the individual Governments to act otherwise than in the same spirit with it, and upon the same principles. It was the liberal principles of government in Sardinia from 1850 to 1858, which made it possible for her to count upon the feeling of the inhabitants of the rest of Italy, when the great rush came, and which won for her the sympathies of England to such an extent, that her very crimes were forgiven, nay, did not occupy so much as a thought. Prussia's own weakness on the score of liberal government, the open and unfortunately well-known repugnance of all the upper and governing classes to popular rights and popular governments, make it impossible for her to be the champion of the popular rights of the Holsteiners; while the local exclusiveness of Berlin towards the rest of Germany makes it impossible for Prussia to be at this moment the representative of Germany in any great question.

'I say all this, because I know that the liberal Prussian politicians are yearning for some foreign complication to spring up, no matter how. I pray to God that He may not send it. If Austria shall consolidate herself by constitutional regeneration, then any wavering between honourable constitutionalism and that autocratic personal government of which some people dream, will be naturally more dangerous for Prussia than ever, for it will then stand in more marked antagonism to the justifiable demands of the nation.'[2]

[2] A temporary arrangement of the dispute between the Diet and the Duchies was effected mainly through the diplomatic intervention of England. But where the ulterior objects of Denmark, on the one hand, and of Germany on the other, were manifestly irreconcilable, it was only a question of time when the arbitrament of the sword should be appealed to. The accession of King Christian IX. upon the death of King Frederick VII. of Denmark, in 1863, afforded an excuse for reopening the question of his right to the Duchies. After fruitless efforts on the parts of the European Powers to effect an amicable adjustment, the German Diet, early in 1864, voted for immediate war.

While these extracts show that the Prince was much disappointed with the course pursued by the Government of Prussia at home as well as abroad, little calculated as that course was to draw England into a closer alliance, he was not less concerned at the irritating, bold, and offensive tone adopted by an influential section of the English press towards that country. The Macdonald question continued to furnish materials for angry recrimination, and an affair which should have been promptly terminated by a handsome expression of regret on the one side for what had occurred, and a no less frank acceptance of the apology on the other, was hung up for months, and allowed to become the subject of a Blue Book, and of vehement discussion in the English Parliament and in the Prussian Chambers. In replying (26th April) to a question upon the subject by Lord Robert Cecil, now the Marquis of Salisbury, Lord Palmerston expressed in strong language his surprise that the Prussian Government, although their officials had not overstepped the strict letter of Prussian law in their treatment of the affair, had not, as the English Government in similar circumstances would have done, condemned the conduct of these officials, and expressed their readiness 'to make every satisfaction, as between gentlemen and gentleman, which Captain Macdonald could require.'

'The Prussian Government,' he added, 'had every motive for doing this. It is impossible to cast your eye over the face of Europe and to note the relations of the different Powers to each other, without seeing that it is the interest of Prussia to cultivate,

Austria and Prussia immediately concentrated a large force on the frontier of Schleswig. Success speedily declared itself upon their side, and showed, in the superiority of the Prussian arms, into what formidable proportions the military strength of that country had grown within the last few years. France and Russia, equally bound with England to maintain the Danish Kingdom as settled by the Convention of the Great Powers in 1852, having refused to interfere by force, England could only follow their example. Denmark, as the result of the campaign, was forced to surrender Holstein, Schleswig, and Lüneburg, and to pay a portion of the expenses of her adversaries.

not the friendship of the English Government only, but the good opinion and the good will of the English nation, and therefore I should say that their conduct in this affair has been that which a distinguished French diplomatist has described—it has been a blunder as well as a crime.'

The proceedings in the case, Lord Palmerston went on to say, he had been told by the law officers of the Crown, 'appeared to be within the limits of Prussian law, harsh, unjust, arbitrary, and violent as they were. One regrets, for the sake of the Prussians themselves, that they should have such a law. But in the face of such an opinion, the British Government could make no demand upon that of Prussia.' Still, after the strong expression of English feeling which had been provoked, he thought that 'what had happened was not very likely to happen again.'

These observations acted like fuel on flame upon the excited feeling which prevailed in Berlin. An independent member, Herr von Vincke, called attention to them (6th May) in the Prussian Chamber, and retorted upon Lord Palmerston the suggestion that Prussia had need of England by the remark, that 'the alliance with Prussia was likewise a necessity for England, on account of the positions taken up by the other Great Powers.' Nor was the Minister for Foreign Affairs, Baron von Schleinitz, behind in expressing the same feeling. 'The impression,' he said, 'produced in Prussia by Lord Palmerston's words was most lamentable and painful. Lord Palmerston,' he continued, 'does not recognise in a neighbouring nation of equal rank with England the same noble and just conscientiousness with which he directs the destinies of a great nation. Without underrating the value of an understanding with England, I may say that Prussia, thank God, need not in any way sacrifice her independence for the friendship of any Power.'

Simultaneously with the report of the proceedings in the

Prussian Chamber appeared a leading article in *The Times*, calculated to goad into greater vehemence the indignation, already all too warm, which existed at Berlin. Deeply regretting, as the Prince did, the hazards of still further estrangement between the nations, this article gave him great pain. At the same time, it is obvious, from the following letter to a friend at Berlin, written on the 9th of May, that he did not altogether regret Prussia's having been made aware of what even her warmest friends in England regarded as her shortcomings in both her domestic and her foreign policy:—

'In politics the outlook is most melancholy. If Lord Palmerston's speech has annoyed you in common with all other Prussians, yesterday's leading article in *The Times* will add to your vexation. It is studiedly insulting, but it will not displease the multitude here, while it will occasion deep offence at Berlin, which indeed seems to be its object. Vincke and Schleinitz made a mistake in mixing up the Macdonald affair with *la haute politique*,—the alliance and the balance of power in Europe. In Germany people theorise and make combinations, based upon the interests of nations and states and upon their history; here no one looks so deeply into things, and people only occupy themselves with the facts of each case as it arises. In Germany the idea of the State in the abstract is a thing divine: here it means the freedom of the individual citizen. The worth of a State is appraised here according to the measure of individual freedom which it secures to its subjects, and in that men find its highest object.

'The idea that the British Government could sacrifice an individual Englishman who is supposed to have been injured and ill-treated, in order that it might continue on a more convenient, friendly footing with another Government, which Government might some day be of use to England

in a time of need, would be regarded by people here as treason and contemptible cowardice. The feeling out of which this grows one cannot but regard as a high and noble one, however blunt and silly it may seem in the way it occasionally shows itself. Still, such as it is, it ought to teach Prussia that mere talk will not do. Prussia has been always talking of being the only natural and real ally of England, but since 1815—therefore for the last forty-five years—she has taken no part in any European question. We have had active alliances with the French, with Spaniards, Portuguese, Turks, and Austrians, as in Syria in 1840. Prussia has never acted along with us, and, so far as feeling goes, while the people have become enthusiastic for Don Pedro, for a Constitution in Spain, for Belgium, for the integrity of Turkey, &c. &c., she has gone in quite the opposite direction.

'Prussia sets up a claim to stand at the head of Germany, but she is not German in her conduct. The Zollverein was the only really German action to which she can point. She leads Germany, not upon the path of liberty and constitutional development, which Germany (Prussia included) requires and desires. I can imagine that, with the high military pretensions to which she has laid claim for the last forty-five years, she suffers under an oppressive consciousness that her army is the only one which during this long period has not been called into action. I repeat, however, that a large, liberal, generous policy is the preliminary condition for an alliance with England, for hegemony in Germany, and for her military renown.

'I could maintain a lengthened discourse on this theme, and, I believe, satisfy the most incredulous, that, unless she adopts such a policy, Prussia cannot possibly experience anything but chagrin and humiliation; but I will spare you.'

Baron Schleinitz thought it incumbent upon him to remonstrate, in a Despatch (5th May) to Count Bernstorff, the German Ambassador in England, against the language used by Lord Palmerston in Parliament to which reference has been made. The ungrounded reproaches heaped on the laws and Government of Prussia were calculated, said Baron Schleinitz, to excite in the Prussian people an ill-feeling against a Government, the leader of which has no hesitation in designating the 'condition of Prussia as lamentable.' This Despatch had been read in the Prussian Chambers by Baron Schleinitz, and could not therefore pass unnoticed. It was met by a Despatch from Lord John Russell to our Ambassador in Berlin, who communicated it to Baron Schleinitz, declaring that Lord Palmerston saw nothing in what he had said to be 'either retracted or explained away.' He said nothing, it was added, 'that could justly give offence to the Prussian nation, with regard to whom he only expressed regret, that they should be liable to laws which vest in subordinate and irresponsible agents powers and authority, which, as in the case of Captain Macdonald, are capable of being used with cruelty and injustice, without any overstepping the strict limits of the law.'

With this document further correspondence on the subject closed, but the soreness which the controversy had excited continued for a long time to affect the feelings of Englishmen and Prussians towards each other.

The Court had returned from Osborne to London on the 27th of April, and on the 30th the Queen, at a meeting of the Privy Council, announced the contemplated marriage of the Princess Alice with the Prince of Hesse-Darmstadt. On the 4th of May it was communicated to Parliament in a message from Her Majesty. The announcement was received with general approval. When two days afterwards the question of the Princess's settlement was submitted to the

House of Commons, no question was raised, and the dowry of 30,000*l.*, with an annuity of 6,000*l.*, was voted without a dissentient voice.

The retirement of the Queen during the period of Court mourning threw upon the Prince the discharge of many additional duties; but it is apparent from his Diary that he gave the same amount of attention as ever to those which more peculiarly devolved upon himself. The preparations for the International Exhibition of 1862 engaged much of his thoughts; levees, exhibitions, new public works, engrossed every moment he could spare from graver topics, and, even at a time of great pressure, he made leisure to visit Cambridge, that he might judge for himself of the arrangements for the Prince of Wales's studies there. The entry in his Diary of this excursion (14th May) is a specimen of the amount of fatigue which each day brought:—

'Leave the White Lodge [Richmond Park, where the Court then was] about 8.30 A.M., drive to London, and thence, by the Eastern Counties Railway, to Cambridge. General Bruce takes me to Trinity College, where, about 12, I visit the Fitzwilliam and Anatomical Museum with the Chancellor. Lunch about one in the College with Bertie, who had come from his lectures. After attending a lecture of Professor Willis in the Senate House, we drive to Maddingley, and am back at the railway by 4.30, and at Richmond by seven.'

After this the real work of the day had to be begun.

In the midst of his graver work the Prince found time to read during the first months of this year—but only by brief snatches—a few works of a lighter character: *The Mill on the Floss*, by George Eliot; Kingsley's *Hypatia*; Hamley's *Life of Wellington*; and *The Woman in White*,

by Mr. Wilkie Collins—which last he notes as being 'a most interesting and exciting book.' The reading of Moore's *Lalla Rookh* falls within the same period, but the number of months through which it was continued seems to indicate that, however the Prince may have liked it, he did not find in it the charm of exciting interest which carried him more rapidly through Mr. Wilkie Collins's work.

Parliament having adjourned for the Whitsuntide holidays, the Queen and Prince were again free to return for a few days to Osborne on the 18th of May, where, the Prince notes, they found the woods in magnificent verdure. The new church, which the Queen was building at Whippingham, was all but completed, 'and promises to be very pretty.' The next day brought Prince Louis of Hesse upon a visit, and a few days later King Leopold arrived with his second son. The Queen's birthday (the 24th) was celebrated without the usual festivities; but gifts from the Prince—'a sculptured group by Engel, a picture of the Königsee, and a number of little things,' says his Diary, were not wanting to mark the anniversary.

The happiness of the stay at Osborne was marred by the illness of Prince Louis of Hesse, with an attack of measles, and also of Prince Leopold, who caught them from him. By the end of the month Prince Louis had recovered, but when the Court returned to London on the 1st of June, Prince Leopold, whose attack was of a serious character, and, as the Prince Consort notes in his Diary, 'causes us great anxiety,' had to be left behind. Not till three weeks afterwards was he able to be removed to London, having then recovered.

## CHAPTER CXIII.

On the 5th of June the Royal Horticultural Gardens, in the establishment of which the Prince had taken a prominent part, were opened to the public. The occasion was memorable, as the last public ceremonial in London at which the Prince was present. In the morning he had gone with the Queen, who still remained in retirement, and with King Leopold, to a private view of the Flower Show, which had been prepared to celebrate the opening. The formal opening took place in the afternoon, when the Prince was accompanied by the Prince of Wales, Prince Arthur, the Princesses Alice, Helena, and Louise, and the Princess Mary of Cambridge. A very large and brilliant concourse of people was assembled in the grounds, and the Prince expresses in his Diary great satisfaction with the way the ceremony went off. The day, however, was dark and showery. The pallid, and somewhat worn look of the Prince himself, did not escape the notice of those who were present, while the absence of the Queen, whose spirits were still depressed by grief for her recent loss, and the deep mourning of the Royal children, gave a sombreness of aspect to the proceedings which seemed almost prophetic of misfortune.[1]

The same evening the Prince presided at a meeting of the Society of Arts, when a paper was read by Mr. W. Hawes upon the proposed International Exhibition of 1862.

[1] 'The Queen,' the Prince mentioned, in a letter to Stockmar next day, 'is still "very low." I am only greatly worried.'

On this occasion the Prince made a short speech, alluding in very confident terms to the prospects of the Exhibition, and expressing his regret that he was prevented by the pressure of his other duties from taking the same active part in its organisation which he had taken in the preparations for that of 1851. His advice and assistance were, however, of such value, and were given so zealously during the next few months, that their loss almost paralysed for a time the energies of his coadjutors.

The next day (6th June) brought telegraphic news of the death that morning at Turin of Count Cavour. 'An immeasurable loss for Italy—(*Ein ungeheurer Verlust für Italien*)' is the brief comment in the Prince's Diary. Worn out as Count Cavour was by the struggle with enemies at home, while he was toiling night and day to consolidate the vast conquests which had been made for the Italian cause, by establishing good order and firm government in provinces demoralised by centuries of misrule, and by reconciling the hostility of Foreign Powers to the new state of things in the Italian peninsula, in the stability of which not even his French ally had yet come to believe,[2] the great statesman might nevertheless have found force to throw off the disease under which he sank, but for the mistaken treatment to which he was subjected by his physicians. Excessive bleeding—where bleeding at all was wrong, exhausted as the patient already was by over-fatigue and anxiety—soon completed the lowering action of typhoid fever. Since it had become known that the great Minister

[2] In a Memorandum, a copy of which is among the Prince's papers, of a conversation at this period between the Emperor of the French and an eminent diplomatist, it is mentioned that the Emperor had said that, although he had recognised the Kingdom of Italy, he did not believe in Italian Unity—that he continued to be of opinion that a Northern and Southern Italy, with a Papal sovereignty between them, would be the best solution of the Italian question—and that he wished to see the Marches and Umbria, but not the Legations, restored to the Pope, placing them, however, under a lay government.

was in danger, crowds had watched round his dwelling night and day, and, when they learned that he was no more, the despair which swept over Turin was likened to that by which it was agitated when the tidings arrived of the fatal defeat of Novara in 1849.'

In England the intelligence produced a profound sensation. Attention was called to it in the House of Commons next day in a desultory discussion on the motion for going into Committee on Supply. 'Sir Robert Peel, with good feeling and judgment,' Lord Palmerston wrote the same evening to the Queen, 'called the attention of the House to the loss sustained by the death of Count Cavour. Lord John Russell followed to the same effect. The O'Donoghue then protested against the ascribing any merit to Count Cavour, who had committed the crime of overthrowing the temporal power of the Pope, and whose death he, the O'Donoghue, considered to be a judgment of heaven. Mr. Milnes' [now Lord Houghton], 'in a very good speech, reproved the O'Donoghue for arrogating to himself an authority to interpret the intentions of Providence, and expressed his sense of the loss sustained. Viscount Palmerston paid his tribute to the merits and memory of Count Cavour, and the subject was dropped.'

Some passages may fitly be recorded here from the tribute, of which Lord Palmerston speaks so modestly, to the eminent man, whose brief but memorable career had made him one of those 'shining marks,' at which Death is said to love to aim his shafts, so that he may 'startle thousands by a single fall:'—

'It should be remembered that Count Cavour laid the foundation of improvements in the constitutional, legal, social, and indeed in all the internal affairs of Italy, which will long survive him, and confer inestimable benefits on those who live and those who are to come hereafter. Of him it may be truly said, that

he has left a name to "point a moral and adorn a tale." The moral is this—that a man of transcendent talents, of indomitable energy, and of inextinguishable patriotism, may, by the impulses which his own single mind may give to his countrymen, aiding a righteous cause, and seizing favourable opportunities, notwithstanding difficulties that appear at first sight insurmountable, confer upon his country the greatest and most inestimable benefits. . . . The tale with which Count Cavour's memory will be associated is one of the most extraordinary—I may say, the most romantic, that is recorded in the annals of the world. Under his influence and guidance we have seen a people, who were supposed to have become torpid in the enjoyment of luxury, to have been enervated by the pursuit of pleasure, and to have had no knowledge or feeling in politics except what may have been derived from the traditions of their history and the jealousies of rival states—we have seen that people, under his guidance and at his call, rising from the slumber of ages, breaking that spell by which they had so long been bound, and displaying on great occasions the courage of heroes, the sagacity of statesmen, the wisdom of philosophers, and obtaining for themselves that unity of political existence which for centuries had been denied them. I say, these are great events in history, and that the man whose name will go down in connection with them to posterity, whatever may have been the period of his death, however premature it may have been for the hopes of his countrymen, cannot be said to have died too soon for his glory and fame.'

The official recognition by France of the new Italian Kingdom became, by the death of Count Cavour, more than ever important. Over his grave his political adversaries at home might be willing to lay aside their differences, and to combine in forwarding his policy in the able hands of Baron Ricasoli, whom he had himself designated to the King as his successor. But it was obvious that the Powers who were adverse to the establishment of the Italian Kingdom might be emboldened by the death of Cavour to seek an opening for disputing the possession by Sardinia of her recent conquests. To secure internal union and peace became there-

fore of the first importance. But how was this to be done? Everything depended on the Government being able to carry on the public works, especially the railways, which had been projected by Cavour. For upon this the development and future prosperity of the country must in a great measure be built, while they would at the same time afford immediate employment to the labouring population, and furnish the best security against their becoming disaffected and being made use of as the tools either of reactionaries or republicans.

The money to carry out these works could only be obtained by means of an European loan; but it was obvious, that the chances of launching such a loan successfully on the foreign markets would be small indeed, so long as France withheld her acknowledgment of the new kingdom. Baron Ricasoli, therefore, lost no time in addressing an appeal with this object to the Emperor of the French. The Emperor, on the other hand, fully appreciated the position and recognised the importance of no longer withholding a decision which had probably only been delayed by considerations of internal policy.

Only a few days previously (6th June) he had given a written proof of his good-will to the Italian movement by reasserting his determination to adhere to the principle of non-intervention, when declining a proposal from Austria and Spain to unite with the other Catholic Powers of Europe in supporting the temporal power of the Pope. This friendly act was followed up by a favourable reply to Baron Ricasoli's appeal, in which he at the same time guarded himself from the misconstruction of the clerical party, by a renewed expression of his disapproval of the course pursued by the Sardinian Government in obtaining possession of the Pontifical States, and of his determination to occupy Rome, until satisfactory guarantees should be obtained for the independence and security of the Sovereign Pontiff. The oppor-

tunity was also taken to intimate, in the most explicit terms, that any attempt on the part of the Italians to compromise the peace of Europe by aggression on any other Power would not, whatever the consequences might be, meet with the approval of the French Government—(*Despatch, 15th June*, 1861, *M. Thouvenel to the French Chargé-d'Affaires at Turin*).

On these various points, Baron Ricasoli was able to give satisfactory assurances in return. Italy, he replied (21st June), would look to time and the natural course of events to effect without recourse to violence the accomplishment of her aspirations for complete unity. 'The King and his Ministers,' he went on to say, 'were profoundly convinced that it was by organising the country's resources, and by setting before Europe the example of a wise and temperate policy, that they would succeed in preserving their rights without exposing Italy to sterile agitations, and Europe to complications of a dangerous nature.' As for Rome, their desire remained unchanged, to restore to Italy her glorious capital, but at the same time to take nothing from the grandeur of the Church, or the independence of its august head. 'Whilst leaving it to the wisdom of the Emperor,' he said in conclusion, 'to decide the moment when Rome may without danger be left to herself, we shall always make it our duty to facilitate this conclusion, and we hope the French Government will not withhold from us its good offices in inducing the Court of Rome to accept an arrangement which would be prolific of beneficial results for the future of religion, as well as for the destiny of Italy.'

These assurances were accepted, and a few days afterwards (25th June) the *Moniteur* contained an official announcement, that the Emperor of the French had recognised Victor Emmanuel as the King of Italy. In the July of the following year, chiefly upon the urgent representations of

the Emperor, the same course was followed by the Courts of St. Petersburg and Berlin.

The action of the Emperor of the French seemed to have greatly increased the probabilities of the still unsolved problems of the Italian question being left, for a considerable time, at least, in abeyance. In England it was generally regarded with great satisfaction. But the idea that his support had been conciliated by promises of a further surrender of Italian soil continued to linger in many minds, and it was fostered by the ambiguous language of some of the leading French journals. Baron Ricasoli had more than once given the suggestion an explicit denial. As, however, the Island of Sardinia continued to be indicated as the reward of French forbearance, and its magnificent capabilities as a naval station made its surrender a matter of most serious importance to England, the subject was brought under the notice of the House of Commons, on the 19th of July, by Mr. Kinglake. That gentleman supported his motion for papers by an elaborate exposition of the power to control the Mediterranean which the possession of the island would give, quoting, among many other sayings of Lord Nelson, his remark: 'If France gets it, she commands the Mediterranean.' He then passed in review a number of circumstances, which seemed in his view to justify the apprehension, that a transaction between the King of Sardinia and the Emperor of the French for the cession of the island was intended, and dwelt prominently on the possibility that, in repudiating the intention to alienate any part of the soil of Italy, Baron Ricasoli might not have considered the Island of Sardinia to be covered by the phrase.

Lord John Russell, who had previously pressed home his inquiries upon this point both at Paris and at Turin, vindicated the statesmen of both countries from the sinister intention

with which they were thus gravely charged.[3] At the same time the question at issue was so important, that he thought it well to 'make assurance double-sure' by instructing Sir James Hudson to bring the subject directly under the notice of Baron Ricasoli. 'I wish,' Sir James Hudson wrote in reply, 'you could have seen the face and attitude of Ricasoli when I asked him whether he considered Sardinia as forming part of the "Italian soil," to which he alluded in his speech, as never to be alienated from Italy. "*Per Dio, ma questa è una impertinenza!*"'

Sir James Hudson calmed the Italian Minister by pointing out the importance of the island to any naval power, and its danger to England in any hands but those of Italy. The cession of Sardinia to France, therefore, meant war with England. Consequently, as Baron Ricasoli had meant to say that he would never cede Sardinia to France, a question which compelled him to be explicit was really a weapon in

[3] It was in the course of this reply that Lord John Russell used the significant language quoted in the last chapter (p. 343). The following passage from the same speech is important as showing the critical state of affairs in Europe, not to speak of America, upon which he rested the necessity for England strengthening her forces:—'We ought,' he said, 'to be very watchful with regard to the events which are taking place in Europe. Those events are not altogether connected with the policy of Sovereigns or of Courts; it is not merely that this Sovereign has shown too much ambition, and another disregarded treaties. There is much more in the condition of Europe than that statement of itself would imply. There are great movements going on in different parts of Europe, of which the movement in Italy was perhaps only the first, great movements of popular bodies, and of whole nations discontented with the governments under which they have lived, asking for better forms of government, and looking out for aid by which they may obtain them. What results from such a state of things? What but uneasiness, proceeding, perhaps, to civil convulsions, to insurrection, to wars, and producing changes of sovereignty and of possession among the Powers of Europe? Well, then, I say, that this alone, without suspecting in any Sovereign designs hostile to Great Britain, is a reason why the Government of this country ought to be vigilant with respect to every event that takes place in Europe, and I trust that neither my noble friend nor I have our eyes entirely shut to that which is going on around us, and that we shall not idly neglect the interests of this country whenever they are threatened with injury.'

his hand against France. Far, therefore, from being hurt by having it put to him, he owed Lord John Russell thanks for giving him the opportunity of placing his meaning beyond a doubt :—

'"I see! I see!" said Ricasoli. "It is enough. Tell Lord Russell, that not only is Sardinia a part of Italy, but a most precious part; and that I will no more cede Sardinia to France, than I will cede Sicily to England. What sins have I committed, of what folly have I been guilty, that I should be so punished as to be placed in a position where my word is doubted? Is it not enough, that I sacrifice my peace—my leisure—my friends—the pleasant shade of the woods of Broglio, and my own familiar occupations, for the turmoil, the dust and sweat, the heat and noise of public affairs—besieged by petitioners, suspected by my friends, traduced by my enemies?" He looked me full in the face, wistfully, pitifully. He resembled a noble hart at bay. . . .

'I pulled out of my pocket a private letter of Lord Cowley's. "Look," I said; "here are but a few lines; and yet they will amply repay you for all you have suffered, and will nerve you to persevere in your service. You know who Cowley is, and his services and character. You will believe anything coming from him."

'I read him a few kind words, expressing the opinion of Fleury, that he (Ricasoli) would accomplish his great task of uniting this country. He burst into tears. "I am more than repaid," he said. "If those men have that opinion of me, I will persevere"' —(*Letter from Sir J. Hudson to Lord John Russell*, 10th *August*, 1861).

The same day Baron Ricasoli reiterated his assurance in an official letter to Sir James Hudson. After this nothing more was heard of the cession of Sardinia to France. Throughout the rest of the year the Italian Government were left free to consolidate their new acquisitions, and to establish, as they best might, order in the Neapolitan kingdom, where alone it was seriously threatened.

By this time the eyes of all Europe were turned to the

American continent, where the Northern and Southern States had entered on the bloody conflict which was to be prolonged with various success through the next four years. Dependent as the great manufacturing industry of England was upon America for its cotton, this country could not regard without dismay a struggle which must create confusion and suffering among vast masses of her population, not to speak of the feelings of profound regret which civil war, in a nation to whom the British race are bound by so many ties, could not fail to awaken. If mediation had been possible, no effort would have been spared on the part of our statesmen to effect it. But the principles at stake were too irreconcilable, the animosities too envenomed, for the friendly interference of any third Power to be acceptable. Nothing, therefore, remained for England but to stand aloof upon a footing of absolute neutrality, until the events of the war now begun should decide whether the Confederates were to establish their independence, or be compelled to adhere to the Union upon the conditions demanded by the Northern States. This neutrality did not, however, secure for England the good-will of either side; and, indeed, it provoked the hostility of the more violent partisans of the Northern States. Language of menace to our Canadian possessions was freely used, and it was considered prudent to despatch, at the end of June, considerable military reinforcements to Canada, as the surest preventive against their fulfilment being attempted.

Meanwhile the Government were fully alive to the probable results in our great manufacturing centres of that failure in the supplies of American cotton which had now become inevitable. The Prince had from the first foreseen that measures would become necessary to diminish as far as possible the disturbance which any diminution in these supplies must produce, and had not

failed to discuss the topic with Her Majesty's advisers. No one was more alive to the importance of the subject than Lord Palmerston, and in the beginning of June he brought it under the notice of Mr. Milner Gibson, then President of the Board of Trade, in a letter (7th June),[4] inquiring whether something could not be done to meet the probable deficiency by drawing supplies of cotton from India and other countries where it was known to be produced in considerable quantities. The emergency, however, was too great and too sudden for any Government to cope with successfully. Much was done by the Government, and still more by private enterprise, in developing new sources of supply; but England had signal cause to remember the war now opening in America, in the prolonged sufferings, most nobly borne, of the operatives of Lancashire, and scarcely less in the way they were sustained through their difficulties by the brotherly helpfulness, not likely soon to be forgotten, of Lord Derby and other distinguished men, who then showed that they regarded their wealth and high social position as imposing upon them the duty of lightening the disaster of those who were cut off for the time from the exercise of the only labour by which they could live.

The month of June was, as usual, a busy one with the Prince, owing to the number of meetings he had to attend, and the fulfilment of the other duties and engagements of the season. The sunless wet summer of the previous year was happily not repeated. Cloudless skies, and great heat, were now the rule, the heat sometimes so great as to make London intolerable. On the 16th of the month, the Prince seems for a time to have been upset by fatigue; and his Diary contains the significant entry: 'Am ill, feverish, with pains in my limbs, and feel very miserable.' Next day he

[4] Quoted at p. 210 of vol. ii. of Mr. Ashley's *Life of Lord Palmerston*. Our references throughout are to the first edition of this work, published in 1876.

was much better; but these illnesses were recurring with alarming frequency—he records another sharp attack, which lasted two days, on the 26th of July—and point to the necessity for a change in the Prince's habits of unremitting toil, which, it must be presumed, he found he could not effect compatibly with what he regarded as the primary duties of his life.

It has already been shown that the Prince had very much at heart the raising of the standard of education for officers in the army. Mere technical knowledge, however, he regarded but as the smallest part of education, unless united with the higher qualities of character which are essential for those who have to govern and to think for bodies of men under the most varied and often most trying circumstances. The Council of Military Education had recently been engaged, under the instructions of the Commander-in-Chief, in framing a new scheme for the education of candidates for commissions at the Sandhurst Royal Military College. The Prince had been anxious that the scheme should include a system of marks for good conduct; but the question appeared to the Commissioners to be surrounded with so many difficulties, that they came in the first instance to the conclusion that they must omit such marks from their scheme. An extract from the Memorandum of the scheme, which they had prepared, was sent by the Duke of Cambridge to the Prince on the 22nd of June. It brought next day the following reply:—

'Buckingham Palace, 23rd June, 1861.

'I return the Memorandum of the Council of Education. I cannot see any of the difficulties which are started therein. I take it for granted that Sandhurst is not to be a civil school, like a foundation school, or even a college in the Universities, but a military establishment, based on military

rules and discipline. If otherwise, it will fail in its object, and do harm instead of good to the army. Now there has not been found the least difficulty in awarding good-conduct marks to the army generally. Why should it exist any more in a corps of cadets than in any other corps? where it must be hoped that the kinds of offences will be less numerous there, and therefore less difficult to deal with, than in a regiment.

'If there be a scale for offences and punishments, there can be no difficulty in having one for rewards. The responsibility thrown upon the Governor of the College, which seems to have startled the Council, is no greater than that thrown upon the commanding officer of any corps, nor could the colonel's duty be exercised by an inspecting officer or inspecting Board who are not present with the corps, and could only act on the recommendation of the commanding officer.[5] I suppose the corps would be subdivided into companies, or some sort of subdivision, which would facilitate supervision and individual responsibility, and would make it easy to check the conduct of each cadet.

'I trust *conduct* will be made a chief element of consideration at the College, else it will fail in its object to fill the army with men of whose honourable feelings, high principles, and sense of duty you have an assurance, and that this important object will not be sacrificed to a fear of responsibility on the part of the authorities.'

Two days later Lord Herbert wrote to the Prince with a copy of the complete Memorandum, and calling his attention to the Commissioners' reasons for abandoning the plan of giving good-conduct marks upon examination. To this the Prince immediately replied:—

[5] Some of the Council had suggested that the power of deducting marks for bad conduct could only properly be exercised by means of periodical Boards.

'Buckingham Palace, 25th June, 1861.

'My dear Lord Herbert,—I have just received your letter enclosing the Report of the Council for Education on Sandhurst, which I shall study with interest. The Duke of Cambridge had sent to me an extract about the marks for good conduct. I found the arguments so little tenable, that I wrote to the Duke to prove this. I have since heard that the Council mean to reconsider the point in consequence.

'I entreat you fully to consider how it will be possible to maintain discipline, good conduct, and honourable feeling among so many young gentlemen brought together in a lonely place like Sandhurst, unless you establish a constant and direct connection in their minds between their conduct and their prospects. Punishments will do little good, and may in many cases do harm. By the standard of a moral code, established by the young men for themselves, the very punishments awarded by the authorities may become honourable distinctions in their eyes. It is so in many schools. Our aim must be to awaken *self-control* in the young men, and this can only be hoped for when they know that their final prospect of entering the army will be as much dependent on their conduct as their learning. Only marks will do this, which they can estimate during the whole time of their stay at the College.

'There can be no reason why all the young men credited with a full number of marks at starting should not forfeit a given number for particular, or as a consequence on particular, punishments, with a minimum of marks excluding them from final admission into the service. Ever yours truly.'

On the Prince's opinions becoming known to the Council, the subject was again taken into consideration. This resulted in the adoption of a scheme by which each cadet was

credited at starting with a maximum of good marks, liable to be reduced for misconduct according to a certain scale, with the penalty of disqualification if the number of good marks should be reduced to less than one-third of the maximum. This proposal was communicated to the Prince by the Commander-in-Chief. It met with his entire approval, and was ultimately carried into effect.

On the 25th of June the visit to the Queen of King Leopold and his second son came to an end. The next day brought to the Palace the Crown Prince and Princess of Prussia, with their children—guests whose presence could best of all compensate for the void which their predecessors had left. The next day the Queen wrote to her uncle:—

'Buckingham Palace, 27th June, 1861.

'It seems very sad and strange to write to you again after having had the happiness of living with you for five weeks, and I sadly miss that dear, kind, paternal face, which bore so many marks of near relationship to her, whom I miss, if possible, more and more as fresh events occur.

'This happy family meeting with our children and grandchildren, while our dear Alice's bridegroom is still here, makes me long and pine for *her*, who would have been so happy and so proud. Dear Fritz is excellent, and the *ménage* a truly happy one.

'My second Drawing-room is just over, and I have nothing more to do but to hold two investitures on Monday. I go for the night to-morrow to White Lodge with Lenchen and Augusta Bruce. We go definitely on the 4th to Osborne.'

It is apparent from this letter how heavy a cloud still hung upon the Queen's spirits. Baron Stockmar had written to the Prince, questioning the propriety of con-

tinuing the Court mourning so long as had been done. He was not more alive than the Prince himself to the sensitiveness on matters of this description which prevails in England. But the Prince knew, what the Baron did not know, that every murmur at the temporary abeyance of the fuller social life of the Court was hushed in general sympathy for the cause of Her Majesty's retirement. Replying to the Baron from Osborne (7th July) the Prince wrote:—

'. . . I cannot think, had you been here, you would have acted otherwise than we have done. The nature of the mourning which we could and ought to pay had been settled at the beginning of May, after full deliberation and advice with the Court, the Household, and the Ministers, and it has not been deviated from one hair's-breadth. The people were surprised at the time that the Queen was ready to do *so much;* I cannot therefore admit that the mourning has been carried to excess. . . .

'We are greatly pleased with the visits we have had. The Princess is well, so also are the Crown Prince and the children. . . . He expresses infinite gratitude to his wife, to your son, to the Prince Hohenzollern, and Dunker (who was with him). Should he come to the throne I am sure that he will adopt and thoroughly carry out the constitutional system.

'I have no news for you from here. Lord Herbert is very ill, and will not be able to remain as Minister of War.'

Lord Herbert had, indeed, already kept his post too long for his own health. A few days after his retirement he went to Spa, but growing worse, was brought back at the end of the month, and died at Wilton on the 2nd of August. The Prince regarded his death as a great public loss, and in writing a letter of condolence, on behalf of the Queen and

himself, to Lord Herbert's brother-in law, the Marquis of Aylesbury, spoke in the warmest terms of his 'talents, industry, and perseverance, coupled with the highest patriotic feeling.'

The choice of a successor to Lord Herbert from the Ministerial ranks was a matter of some difficulty. Sir Charles Wood, to whom the appointment was first offered, declined it from reluctance to leave his post at the head of the Indian Department, at a critical moment, when its affairs were still in a state of transition in consequence of the change from the old to the new system of army organisation. The health of Sir George Grey did not admit of his encountering the severe labour and confinement of the War Department; but he was willing to take the Home Office, and Sir George Cornewall Lewis, yielding to the solicitations of his chief, undertook the care of a department, to which he brought no special experience, but only the aptitude for business and administration of a vigorous and highly trained mind.

Another material change in the Ministry took place at this time by the removal of Lord John Russell to the House of Peers, where he took his seat as Earl Russell on the 25th of July. Mr. Cardwell, 'glad to escape from his Irish tormentors,' as Lord Palmerston wrote to the Queen, succeeded Sir George Grey as Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster, Sir Robert Peel stepping into his place as Chief Secretary for Ireland; while Mr. Layard was introduced for the first time into official life as Under-Secretary for Foreign Affairs.

Throughout the month of July, the Court remained at Osborne. They were startled on the 14th by a telegram from Baden-Baden, announcing that the King of Prussia had been fired at while walking in the Lichtenthal Allée there, by a young Leipzig student named Oscar Becker. Becker had fired twice. Both shots had passed through the collar of the King's coat, and one of them had caused a severe

contusion on the left side of the neck. The Crown Prince started at once from Osborne to Baden, but finding that the King had quickly recovered from the shock, and regained his wonted cheerfulness, he returned and reached Osborne again on the 18th. 'It is most extraordinary,' Lord Palmerston wrote to the Queen on the day of the attempt, 'that such an attempt should have been made, as it can scarcely be imagined that the King of Prussia can have a personal or political enemy in the world.' It appeared from Becker's own statement, that he had been impelled to the act by an idea that the King somehow stood in the way of the unification of Germany, for which the country was now clamorous, and that this would be promoted by his death. Becker was tried and found guilty, and sentenced not to execution, but to confinement, as a more appropriate punishment for what seemed to have been prompted by the folly of an imbecile, rather than by the deliberate purpose of an assassin.

On the 29th, the Prince wrote to Baron Stockmar, with his usual budget of political and domestic news:—

'I see there has been again a long interval since I wrote to you last. The time must have been "delicious," for of a truth it has been "labour and vexation."

'There has not been much stir in foreign politics, except that Denmark has made the concession of a Budget to Holstein upon our suggestion, with the view of founding a claim to European intervention in her favour, when the financial year has expired. . . .

'Parliament has brought an almost sterile Session to a close. . . . The loss of two such men as Lord John and Mr. Sidney Herbert will occasion a great gap, especially on the Ministerial side. . . .

'Lord Herbert is dying. . . . Lord John, who is now called Earl Russell of Kingston Russell, will perhaps be

surprised, when he sees his influence in the country damaged. However, the atmosphere of the Upper House may perhaps have a soothing effect upon him. . . .

'The Crown Prince was greatly pleased with his interview in Baden. His character expands visibly.

'The Prince of Wales is serving in the camp at the Curragh of Kildare; perhaps he may be present at the reviews and manœuvres on the Rhine in autumn. . . . Alfred comes for four weeks the middle of next month on leave from America; Leopold has been much better of late, but is to pass the winter in Nice or Cannes. We are perplexed about the formation of the requisite suite for him.

'We have had no lack of visitors here; first, Augustus and Clementine, then the Montpensiers, and we are now expecting Max and Charlotte of Austria, the Princess Charles of Hesse (Louis's mother), Fritz of Baden, and, last of all, the King of Sweden. Fritz and Vicky leave us on the 14th of August. We ourselves go on the 19th to Ireland, and thence on to Balmoral. I have been far from well of late.'

On the 2nd of August the Prince again writes from Osborne to Baron Stockmar:—

'. . . We are expecting, this morning, Max of Austria, with Charlotte, for three days; I am very glad at the prospect of seeing them both again. He will, however, I fear, not have much that is consoling to tell me about the state of affairs between Austria and Hungary.

'Yesterday morning at daybreak the earthly remains of dear Mama were conveyed from St. George's Chapel to the new mausoleum at Frogmore, and now rest there peacefully in a fitting tomb.'[6]

[6] On the 29th of July the mausoleum had been consecrated by the Bishop of Oxford.

The Archduke Maximilian and the Archduchess left Osborne on the 5th, the Prince accompanying them as far as Portsmouth, where he inspected the fortifications at Hilsea, and the works which had just been marked out on the Portsdown Hills.[7] The next day the Queen wrote to King Leopold :—

'Your dear children left us yesterday, having, I think, enjoyed their little séjour, which gave us very sincere pleasure. Dear Charlotte is in great beauty. I never saw such eyes and eyebrows, and in her little Spanish hat her profile is most lovely. I think she is a little too grave for her age, but that was her nature always. She seems thoroughly happy and contented. Max is most agreeable, and very clever: he has such good sense too, and is wonderfully fair. Albert was amazingly struck by him.'

On the 6th, Parliament was prorogued by Commission. The Session had not been distinguished by any measures of an exciting nature, although not a few of considerable practical value had been carried to a successful issue. The aspect of public affairs both at home and abroad was upon the whole more tranquil than it had been at the beginning of the year. The Ministry had lost none of its popularity, and the Opposition, though it ran them close in numbers, showed no disposition to thwart them either in their home or in their foreign policy. The gravity of the conflict which was now raging in America was deeply felt by all leading politicians, and a time of difficulty was feared to be approaching, which would require the combined efforts of all parties to meet it with equanimity, and to tide it over without disaster.

Before leaving Osborne the Queen received visits from

[7] On his return he was met by the news of the defeat at Bull's Run of the Federals by the Confederates.

the Duke of Oporto, and also from the King and Prince Oscar of Sweden. A visit to Ireland had been arranged, where the Queen and Prince were expected to arrive on the 22nd of August. The happy family party was broken up on the 16th, when the Crown Prince and Princess, with their children, started on their return to Germany, and the Queen and Prince, together with the Princess Alice, travelled to Frogmore. The next day (the anniversary of the Duchess of Kent's birthday) a visit was paid to her mausoleum: with what feelings will be best described in the following passages of a letter from the Queen to King Leopold (20th August):—

'We parted from our dear children and grandchildren with heavy hearts on the morning of the 16th, for their visit, except for the blank which clouds over everything, has been most peaceful.

'We went that afternoon to Frogmore, where we slept. The first evening was terribly trying,—all looked like life, and yet *she* was not there. The next morning was beautiful, and we went up after breakfast to the Mausoleum, and into the vault, which is *à plain pied*. It is so airy, so grand, and simple, that, affecting as it was, there was no anguish or bitterness of grief, but a feeling of calm and repose. We placed the wreaths upon the splendid granite sarcophagus, and at its foot, and felt that it was only the earthly robe of her we loved so much that was there—the pure, tender, loving spirit is above, and free from all suffering and woe. Yes! That is a comfort, and that first birthday in another world must have been a far brighter one than any birthday in this poor world below.'

It is thus that the Prince, in writing to the Crown Princess, speaks of the same incident:—'Our excursion to Frogmore was sad, but it did us good. The Mausoleum has

become very beautiful, and just what it should be, appropriate, pleasing, solemn, not doleful or repellent (*schrecklich*).'

A letter from the Queen to her sister, giving an account of this visit, brought the following reply (21st August):—

'How can I thank you enough for your dear letters of the 16th and 17th, so sad, so touching, and at the same time so '*erhebend*' [elevating]. It is so melancholy to feel the change that has taken place on those days, which used to be so different, and can never be as they were again: and it makes one think of the happy past as of a paradise lost for ever, until we are united with those dear ones gone before. The 17th at Frogmore must have been a comfort to your heart, although very trying; but that peace and repose has something very soothing. Your dear letter has made me cry, and I long to be with you, my own Victoria. I shall soon have that happiness—alas! without finding *her*. There is great pain in that dreadful truth; and seeing Frogmore without her dear self seems quite incomprehensible.'

## CHAPTER CXIV.

THE Queen and Prince returned to Osborne from Frogmore on the 17th of August, after the sad ceremony at the Mausoleum. The next day Prince Alfred arrived from his cruise to the West Indies, and before eight, on the morning of the 21st, the Queen and Prince, together with the Princesses Alice and Helena, and Prince Alfred, and attended by a small suite, were on their way to Holyhead, where they arrived about 7 P.M., having picked up Lord Granville and Lord Sydney at Oxford on the way. The sky gave signs of a change from calm to storm, and no time was lost in getting the *Victoria and Albert* under way. After an excellent passage Kingstown Harbour was reached. 'We glided quietly in,' says the Queen's Diary. 'The ships of the other division of the Channel Fleet, which were lying outside, illuminated as we passed in. By half-past eleven we were fast to a buoy, and in bed by twelve.'

A hurricane of wind and rain, which had set in during the night, made the Royal travellers very thankful that they had got over so early. Soon after ten Lord Carlisle (Lord Lieutenant) came on board, and the yacht was moved up alongside the quay. 'While this was being done, Sir Robert Peel (Chief Secretary for Ireland) and Sir George Brown (Commanding the Forces in Ireland) came on board. At eleven punctually we landed, and at once entered the railway-carriage on the quay, Lord Carlisle coming in with us. In Dublin we entered our carriages, which were thrown open.

Alice and Affie were with us. There were great numbers of people in the streets, all most friendly and enthusiastic. Just outside the city we had to close the carriage, it rained and blew so fiercely. At a quarter to twelve we reached the Phœnix Park. . . . On our way the sun came out once or twice for a moment, and lighted up the beautiful view of the Wicklow Hills. Otherwise it rained almost without intermission. Bertie, looking very well, came from the Camp (of the Curragh) to luncheon, and stayed till five o'clock. Albert went at half-past three, with Lord Carlisle, to Dublin,' where he visited the Exhibition, the new Club, the King's College Library, and the new Museum. 'At half-past five I drove out,' to quote again from Her Majesty's Diary, 'with the two girls and Affie; but the showers, which were slight when we started, turned to a perfect downpour, as we took the very charming drive along the Liffey, by the Strawberry Beds and through Colonel White's beautiful place—Woodlands.' A large dinner-party concluded the evening. 'Was very tired. Heard last night of the children's (Princess Louise, the Princes Arthur and Leopold, and Princess Beatrice) safe arrival in London, and this evening, that they had reached Holyrood —which was a great relief.'

'*Friday, August* 23.—A fine morning. Breakfasted downstairs. Everything is good, and in good taste here. The pretty cups and china make me feel that Lord Carlisle is the brother of the dear Duchess of Sutherland.[1] Albert left for the Curragh at ten, to see Bertie at work. Walked with Jane [Lady] Churchill in the pretty gardens and pleasure-grounds. Received the Lord Mayor, who presented

[1] The fine taste of the Duchess was conspicuous, among other things, in the great beauty and variety of the services of china in the ducal establishments. It was seen even in the inns on the Sutherland estates, where many a guest must have wondered to find himself served off china of a quality then uncommon in the houses even of well-to-do people.

the Corporation Address, when I said a few civil words in return, Jane Churchill, Lord Carlisle, Lord Granville, and others being present. . . . Very busy writing all day, but miss so dreadfully the writing to dearest Mama. . . .

'Albert back at four. It was beautiful and bright all day. At five, we and the girls planted trees (Affie was out shopping), and then we drove into Dublin—Alice and Lord Carlisle in the carriage with us—through the principal streets, and back by the Circular Road and the Park. The streets and buildings are really very fine. There were many people out, and they cheered loudly. Lord Carlisle is, as he well deserves to be, exceedingly popular. We then walked for some time, and looked at a pretty little monument raised by Lord Carlisle on the site of a tree which poor Lady St. Germans planted, and which died about the time she did, with a pretty little verse inscribed on it, written by Lord Carlisle himself. I think of her here very often; she was so kind, so good, and amiable.'[2]

The dinner-party included several old friends, among others, the Duke of Leinster, 'who is such a good man,' the Marquis and Marchioness of Headfort, the Marquis and Marchioness of Kildare, and Lady Charlemont. Of Lady Charlemont, who had been in the early days of the reign one of the Queen's ladies in waiting, and remarkably handsome, it is noted in the Royal Diary that she 'is wonderful still, and, except for having grown thinner, unaltered.' She lived to be ninety-five, dying in 1876.

'*Saturday, August* 24.—A gray morning; but still we hoped for the best. At half-past nine we started for the railway, Alice and Affie in the carriage. The railway-

[2] Lord St. Germans was Lord Lieutenant, when the Queen and Prince visited Ireland in 1853.

carriage was a fine one, and very easy. At the Curragh station we found our carriages. Albert, Affie, and the other gentlemen, all in uniform, rode. Our own carriages and horses had all been sent here. Such a crowd, such a scamper and scramble! Alice, Lenchen, and Jane Churchill were in the carriage with me. The position of the camp is splendid,—with the Wicklow Hills in the distance, and an immense amount of turf, which nothing can spoil.

'We drove up to where the troops were assembled, and received the royal salute, after which Sir George Brown rode up and delivered to me the State. Then we drove down the line. As we approached the Cavalry, they began to play one of dearest Mama's marches, which they did again in marching past. This entirely upset me, and the tears would have flowed freely, had I not checked them by a violent effort. But I felt sad the whole day, except when we came to Bertie, who looked very well. I recognised many Aldershot acquaintances. During the march-past a violent shower came down, which obliged us to close the carriages. We did not get wet; neither did Albert; but the troops were soaked.

'A field day followed, which we watched, as we usually do, from a distance, moving about from place to place, and occasionally near some portions of the troops. Albert, Affie, and the gentlemen rode about, and kept close to the principal manœuvres. There were crowds of people in every direction, ladies, common people, &c., on foot and on horseback,—and jaunting-cars driving in every direction. We had one more heavy shower, but otherwise it was very fine.

'At a little before three we went to Bertie's hut, which is in fact Sir George Brown's. It is very comfortable—nice little bedroom, sitting-room, drawing-room, and good-sized dining-room,—where we lunched with our whole party, and Sir George Brown, General Ridley (in command at the

camp), Colonels Wetherell, Browning, and Percy. The latter commands the Guards, and Bertie is placed specially under him. I spoke to him, and thanked him for treating Bertie as he did, just like any other officer, for I know that he keeps him up to his work in a way, as General Bruce told me, no one else has done; and yet Bertie likes him very much. When we came away, we left Affie on a visit to his brother till next day. Got home at five, when I took a short walk with the girls, rested, and wrote.' A fresh variety of guests was added to the usual company at dinner.

Service was celebrated next day (Sunday) in a room at the Viceregal Lodge. In the afternoon the Prince went with Lord Carlisle, taking the Prince of Wales and Prince Alfred with him, to inspect the prisons, while the Queen, with the two Princesses, paid a visit to the Kilmainham Hospital.

The next day (the 26th August) was the Prince's birthday. 'This,' the Queen wrote in a letter to King Leopold, 'is the dearest of days, and one which fills my heart with love and gratitude and emotion. God bless and protect for ever my beloved Albert, the purest and best of human beings!'[3] Her Majesty's record of the day in her Diary opens with the same prayer even more fervently expressed. It continues—'Alas! there is so much so different this year,—nothing festive, and we on a journey and separated from many of our children, and my spirits bad. But I wished him joy, warmly, tenderly. Beloved Mama! How she loved and admired him!'

[3] The same day the Queen's sister wrote to Her Majesty:—'I have little time left, but I must write a few words on this dear day, wishing you and dear Albert joy, and many happy returns. It will be hard for you and him receiving no token from our beloved departed Mama on the occasion. How she loved him! her blessings will be on his precious life for ever. I hope you will be able to feel happy to-day, my own Victoria, and only think of her as one absent in the body, but not in the spirit.'

The customary gifts from the Queen and all the Royal children were not wanting even at this distance from home,—all arranged to greet the Prince when he came downstairs in the morning. Among those of the Queen he notes in his Diary a picture by Portaels and a pair of Lancaster breech-loading rifles. Again we quote from Her Majesty's Diary:—

'Alas! there was wanting the usual gift from that beloved mother, which had never been wanting before. When all was ready I fetched Albert, and the four children (the two eldest boys have not for a long time been with us on this dear day) received us and gave him bouquets. But I missed the little ones—above all, baby—and sadly I thought of poor dear Vicky. Albert was much pleased with the presents, and with the girls' [the Crown Princess and Princess Alice's] pretty drawings.'

Soon after noon his Royal guests took leave of Lord Carlisle at the station of the Great Southern and Western Railway, by which they were to make the journey to Killarney. We resume Her Majesty's narrative: 'It was very hot. The country for some distance was very unattractive, except for the outline of distant hills which were visible from time to time. It is astonishing how wanting in population this part of the country is—large plains, a good deal cultivated, here and there a small house, with a few cabins, but no villages, and hardly any towns, except the few close upon the railway.

'The Lord Lieutenant of the county received us at Portarlington, where General Bruce joined us. We passed Maryborough. We stopped at Thurles, close to the town. The crowd was tremendous—very noisy—the people very wild and dark-looking,—all giving that peculiar shriek which is general

here instead of cheers,—the girls were handsome, with long dishevelled hair. Here we saw fine hills to the left. Our next stoppage was at the Limerick Junction, where we found Lord Lismore, Lieutenant of this county. The large plains and distant hills were not unlike the country about Tarland. The last station we stopped at was Mallow, a small town on the Blackwater, in a beautiful valley. Soon after this, the line enters a mountain region, and winds along below woods. At half-past six we reached the Killarney Station, where we were received by Lord Castlerosse, Mr. Herbert of Muckross, the General commanding the district, and the Mayor, who presented an Address.

'There was a great crowd, and troops lined the place. There was likewise an escort. We entered our carriage, with Alice and Bertie, and drove along a rather circuitous road to Lord Castlerosse's Park. Great numbers of people were out, cheering very enthusiastically. We drove through the pretty and much-wooded grounds up a fine avenue of trees to the house, which stands on a terrace, with steps leading down from it, at the foot of which stood Lady Castlerosse and her aunt, Lady Downe. The house looks like a French château, the roof being high. We were taken at once to our rooms, which were very pretty, and most charmingly and elegantly, though simply, furnished. The view from the bedroom towards the lake, with its islands, across a lawn, with two long borders of flowers, and walks stretching from the house to the water, was lovely. I sketched it.'

The party at dinner included, among others, the Bishop of Limerick, and also Dr. Moriarty, the Roman Catholic Bishop—'a tall, stout, and very intelligent clever man,' says the Royal Diary, and Mr. O'Connell, 'brother to the O'Connell, the last of that generation, a very good man, with quite different views from his brother, and the Knight of Kerry. Being Albert's birthday, *he* sat next to me, and

his health was drunk at dessert. All the windows were open; but there was not a breath of air, and the heat was intense.'

In Her Majesty's *Leaves from a Journal* (pp. 310–15) a detailed account has been given of the way the next two days were passed in visiting all the finest portions of the lake and mountain scenery of Killarney. But a briefer record, contained in a letter from the Queen to King Leopold (2nd September), will not be out of place here:—

'We spent the 27th on the lakes, lunching at a cottage [Glena Cottage] belonging to Lady Castlerosse, and taking tea at another lovely spot,—indeed nothing could be lovelier. Imagine three different lakes connected by channels or passages with each other,—the mountains rising from the margins of the lakes to heights of from two to three thousand feet, covered with wood of all kinds,—the lakes studded with islands, and fringed with promontories and rocks of the most picturesque shapes, covered with arbutus, yew, and holly trees, all growing wild to a great height, and down to the very water's edge. It is all really wonderfully beautiful, but the air has no lightness or freshness in it, and reminds one of the tepid-water feel of Devonshire.

'As soon as we returned that evening to Killarney House, we left it for Muckross (Mr. Herbert's), only three miles off, which is a still finer place, and commanding a more extensive view. Muckross Lake, one of the three, belongs entirely to him. Much of this, and indeed of the scenery in general, reminds one of the Highlands.

'The next morning (28th) we took a most beautiful drive all round this lake, and in the afternoon went upon the water. There were at least a hundred and fifty boats out, which had a very pretty effect. People live on the water there, and the

boatmen row beautifully. I wish you could see these lakes;[4] you would be delighted, and it is so quickly done now.'

At noon on the 29th, the Royal visitors bade adieu to their hospitable hosts, and returned by railway to Dublin, where they made no halt, but passed on at once to Kingstown, and embarked on the Royal yacht, remaining in the harbour for the night. Weighing anchor at four next morning they reached Holyhead by nine. Leaving Her Majesty to rest for the day in the *Victoria and Albert*, the Prince, Prince Alfred, Lord Granville, and Sir Charles Phipps made an excursion by railway to Carnarvon. After visiting the Castle, they drove through the Vale of Llanberis to Beddgellert. The weather was magnificent and the Welsh mountain scenery, with Snowdon standing out clear against the sky, was seen in perfection. It was a day of such enjoyment as can be known only by those who, like the Prince, love nature with passionate ardour, and to whose quick eye none of its varied features are lost.

The excursionists returned to the Royal yacht to dinner. Leaving Holyhead at nine the same evening, and travelling through the night, the Queen and Prince, with the Princesses Alice and Helena, and Prince Alfred, reached Balmoral in the afternoon of the following day. Lord Granville, who had been the Minister in attendance on Her Majesty in Ireland, returned from Holyhead to London, and his place was taken by Sir Charles Wood, who met the Queen at Forfar on her way to the North. Earl Russell, who again

[4] Professor Wilson (Christopher North) said to the writer that he considered the Killarney lake scenery as, on the whole, the finest in the three kingdoms, inasmuch as it contained within itself, in miniature, all the best features of his own favourite Cumberland and Scottish lakes. The admission, a remarkable one from him, was followed by a glowing recapitulation of various points of beauty or grandeur, which showed how vivid was the impression they had left on his memory.

occupied Abergeldie for the season, was already there when Her Majesty reached Balmoral. On the 4th of September Prince Louis of Hesse again joined the Royal circle, which received next day another most welcome addition in the arrival of Her Majesty's sister, accompanied by Lady Augusta Bruce. On the 6th the Prince wrote to Baron Stockmar, who had, by his silence, for some time made their correspondence wholly one-sided :—

'. . . I will not let my monologue come to a stop, but once more send you news of ourselves, even although this should not have the effect of inducing you to make some sort of rejoinder, if only through a third hand. Our life in Osborne, together with our Prussian children and grandchildren, was somewhat disturbed towards its close by the all too numerous royal visits; still we were interested in making the acquaintance of the King of Sweden. He is a thorough soldier, and little of a *grand seigneur*.

'Charlotte and Max of Austria were very friendly, and are both *people of no common order*.

'He is satisfied that his brother sincerely means not to let the constitutional régime again become a dead letter, and that he sees his own safety in so acting, but he seemed to me *himself* to *undervalue* the Hungarian difficulty, as people in Vienna generally appear to do.

'In Ireland we met with a very cordial reception, and admired immensely the country round the Lakes of Killarney. The Prince of Wales has acquitted himself extremely well in the camp, and looks forward with pleasure to his visit to the manœuvres on the Rhine.

'The day before yesterday, Louis of Hesse came to us, and yesterday, Feodore. It will be most pleasant to Victoria to have her here. The Queen herself is well. I regret to

say I have a cold, but am in other respects well. I hope you are tolerably so.

'Alfred leaves us again on the 20th, sailing from Liverpool to return to his American station. We shall not have a chance of seeing him again till next summer! A new and lengthened separation, which we call good, only from the feeling that the naval service is the best school for him.'

Germany was at this time agitated from one end to the other by a movement for unification. Various circumstances conspired to give renewed vigour to a desire which since 1848 had never ceased to make itself heard through the leaders of the Liberal party. It had found an organ in the establishment of the National-Verein, which, originating in Gotha, had spread itself in the form of branch societies in Hanover, Oldenburg, Hamburg, Prussia proper, Pomerania, and Posen. The agitation spread to southern Germany, and branch associations were formed in many towns of Würtemberg, Baden, and Bavaria. The main object of these societies was the union of the German States under a central power with a national parliament. What had so recently been done by the Italians in the same direction gave courage to the leaders of these societies. But the condition of the country itself, with the imminent probability of a war with Denmark, and the distrust of some of the southern Governments, who were gravely suspected of an intention to coalesce against Prussia, had more than anything else given force and purpose to the movement. A war with Denmark, followed as it would have been by a blockade of the German rivers, would have paralysed the trade of Bremen, Hamburg, Lübeck, Stettin, Dantzig, Königsberg, and Memel, and barred the natural outlets for the exports of central and southern Germany. This hazard could only be met by the formation of a German fleet, and

without a central power this was impossible. The danger towards the French frontier was no less imminent. Jealous as the rulers of the southern States were of Prussia, it was feared they could not be relied on to resist the encroachments of France, but might even purchase their own security by an alliance with that country. Still, it was to Prussia that all the sounder Liberal Germans looked as the only possible nucleus for the organisation of a central power, although they were discouraged in their efforts by the adherence of the Prussian Government to a reactionary policy, and its obstinate refusal to concede the reforms necessary to cure the vices of the country's internal administration.

The Prince, as might have been expected from the views, which it has been seen he had entertained on the subject of Germany since 1848, felt a strong sympathy with the movement for German unity, and longed to see Prussia place herself in the position to lead it honourably, and with a fitting regard to all existing interests. He gave fresh expression to his views in the following letter to the King of Prussia, with which the Prince of Wales was entrusted on going to the Prussian autumn military manœuvres on the Rhine near Cologne :—

'Balmoral, 9th September, 1861.

'My dear Cousin,—Our last letters have crossed; still I cannot delay sending you my warmest thanks for your kind and courteous wishes on the occasion of my recent birthday, and I cannot do better than transmit them by Bertie, whom I commend to your kind consideration. My warm participation in everything which affects your happiness will always remain the same, and, if my wishes be heard, only what is pleasant and satisfactory will attend you through a longer tract of years than, to judge by your letter, you seem to count upon. I reckon labour and trouble, indeed, among

the agreeables, should your life, according to the Bible, be so prolonged, even though it have been delicious.[5]

'The general sympathy shown to you after the recent attempt on your life has, I see, comforted your heart. It shows what the real feeling of the Germans is, and this is not without significance, even although what they struggle after be not altogether consonant with your views. The danger for yourself, for Prussia, and for Germany, I am firmly convinced, does not lie in their struggle for constitutional development, but in the ulterior designs of France, and can only be successfully encountered and overcome by the help of this struggle. The first Napoleon and France had held Germany in bondage, in dismemberment, and humiliation. The appeal of your father in 1813 to the German feeling for liberty, and the promise of constitutional organisation, evoked the heroic spirit which broke Napoleon's diabolical power. Austria saw in the German uprising under Prussia's guidance a greater danger than in Napoleon's oppression, and hesitated long to which side she should turn. Stimulated by Napoleon's insolence and blunders, and encouraged by the hope of being able in the long run to deceive and to suppress the German impulse towards freedom, she decided at last to join the allies. After the Peace of Paris, Austria had no other object than to crush German freedom. The Diet and Germany, as it is at this moment, are Prince Metternich's work, and he entirely led German policy down to 1848, and, indirectly, Prussian policy also (with each of the two last Sovereigns), of course in different ways—in fact, by humouring the differences of their personal characters. No wonder that when in 1848 the barriers of repression gave way, democracy broke forth like a wave long held in check. No wonder, too, that after the Austrian Government had in a measure ceased to exist,

[5] See note *ante*, p. 292.

and the authority of the King of Prussia had quite unnecessarily been abdicated in the days of March into the hands of the Berlin mob, Germany was seized with a panic dread of confusion and turmoil, and the patriotic movement, which in the first days after the Paris Revolution was directed to unification of the Fatherland, and to making it safe against French inroads, was frittered away in the absence of any superior guidance in the wildest democratic extravagances. The patriotic German looks with sorrow and shame at these results; and . . . it is not to be wondered at if he tries to make good his claim to what was promised in 1813, and, in particular, desires to be led onwards in the constitutional path by Prussia and by you. Austria has once more brought Napoleon into prominence as the Conqueror in Europe, has given Italy to him as his tool, and prepared Hungary and Poland to serve him in the same way. Germany sees herself face to face with the most serious peril, yet still divided, weakened, broken into sections, her very existence in the hands of individual Cabinets, without the possibility of her people exercising the smallest influence upon their action. Is it an evil trait of the spirit of the people if they yearn for general unity and active co-operation in what is to decide their destiny? Do not allow yourself to be annoyed or misled, if here and there this people are guilty of stupid extravagances. They are your and Germany's only stay, and the power by which alone the enemy can be held at bay. It is not a Cavour that Germany needs, but a Stein.

'Every, even the smallest, indication of German and popular effort, be it a national rifle-meeting, a meeting for athletic sports, or anything else, is laid hold of by the people, in their anxiety to demonstrate their feelings, with almost childish delight and childish enthusiasm; still, this is at least in the right direction.

'Your visit to Compiègne was not to be avoided, and will

be most interesting. I am curious to know if the Emperor will again glance at those territorial changes which are constantly present to his mind, from Egypt to Denmark, and Portugal to Poland. My best wishes will go with you to the Emperor.

'Despite the mourning for the brother he has just lost, Lord Clarendon has undertaken the mission to your Coronation, which has given us great satisfaction, and will, we hope, be agreeable to you also. That poor Lord Breadalbane has lost his wife, you will have heard already.

'In truest attachment I remain always your faithful cousin and friend,

'ALBERT.'

The autumn of 1861 presented a marked contrast to the cold, wet, cheerless autumn of the previous year. With the exception of a few days in September, the weather during the stay of the Court at Balmoral was all that could be desired. The Prince was able to avail himself of it for his favourite sport of deer-stalking, and he chronicles in his Diary with obvious satisfaction many successful results. Thus, on the 10th of September, he brought down three fine stags, and the same number on the 12th. These were his greatest successes; but he had no wholly blank days except one, having always at least one '*starken Hirsch*' to report as having fallen to his rifle. On the last day he went out, however (21st October), his good luck failed him. '*Gehe zum letzten Mal auf die Jagd und schiesse Nichts* (Go out stalking for the last time and shoot nothing)' is the entry in his Diary.

The stay at Balmoral was agreeably diversified by several most successful excursions to various parts of the adjoining Highlands. The record of these has been already published in the *Leaves from a Journal*. Delightful in themselves as these excursions were, they gave peculiar pleasure to the

Prince, as helping to remove some of the sadness which still overshadowed Her Majesty's mind.[6]

In visiting Germany the Prince of Wales had another object in view besides being a spectator of the military manœuvres in the Rhenish Provinces. It had been arranged that he was to make the acquaintance of the Princess Alexandra of Denmark, who was then on a visit to Germany, with a view to a marriage, should the meeting result in a mutual attachment. Despite every precaution to ensure secresy, until at least the inclinations of the principal parties should have been ascertained, the project got wind, and even before they met, it was actually canvassed, much to the Prince Consort's annoyance, in the Continental papers. From these it soon found its way into the English journals, where it met with general approval; and as the meeting, which took place at Speier and Heidelberg on the 24th and 25th of September, ended with the happiest results, no harm ensued from what might otherwise have proved to be extremely painful. 'We hear nothing but excellent accounts of the Princess Alexandra,' the Prince notes in his Diary on the 30th of September, and he adds, with obvious satisfaction, 'that the young people seem to have taken a warm liking for each other.'

The irritation both in Prussia and this country, which had been occasioned by the Macdonald affair, happily did not extend into the calmer region of the Courts of either nation. Their relations remained as intimate and cordial as ever; and the appointment of so distinguished a statesman as Lord

[6] 'Oh, in the midst of cheerfulness, I feel so sad! But being out a good deal here, and seeing new and fine scenery, does me good'—(21st September: *Leaves from a Journal*, p. 216.) Again, on returning (9th October) from a two days' expedition, Her Majesty writes:—'Have enjoyed nothing so much, or indeed felt so much cheered by anything since my great sorrow'—(*Ibid.* p. 236.)

Clarendon to represent the Queen at the approaching coronation of the King of Prussia was received by His Majesty with peculiar satisfaction. No man could have been selected who was better fitted to calm down any irritation which might still linger in the minds of the members of the Prussian Government as the result of the decided language in which Lord Palmerston had recently denounced in Parliament the defects of their police and administrative system. The King had intimated to Queen Victoria, that he proposed to confer upon Lord Clarendon the Order of the 'Black Eagle,' but this honour had been declined, in accordance with the established rule in England, which prohibits public men from receiving foreign orders, except under very peculiar circumstances, such, for example, as when they have carried the Order of the Garter for the investiture of a foreign Sovereign. The tender of the honour was a sufficient assurance that Lord Clarendon's merits were appreciated; and as Lord Palmerston remarked, in writing on the subject to the Queen (24th September), 'as far as he is himself concerned, having the Bath and the Garter, he cannot, I conceive, think that any other Order would be an additional distinction.'

Before setting out, Lord Clarendon would have been well pleased to have had an opportunity of learning from the Prince's own lips his views as to the present position of affairs in Germany. 'I cannot express,' he wrote to the Prince (4th October), 'how much I regret not having the benefit of knowing your Royal Highness's views upon German affairs.'

Lord Clarendon, who was then in London, was to set out on the 8th, and any personal interview was therefore impossible. But the Prince wrote to him the following letter, giving him briefly such hints as he considered might be useful:—

'My dear Lord Clarendon,—I have received your letter, and am very glad that you will make it possible to be at

Berlin on the 10th. I beg you to take charge of these two letters, which I trust will still arrive in time. You will have been informed of the King's intentions about the "Black Eagle" for you. He will be very sorry that our regulations could not have been relaxed in this instance, which Lords Palmerston and Russell deprecated.

'I am afraid you will find the feeling in Germany very bitter against us, less amongst the Cabinets than the people. The systematic attacks on and vilification of everything German by our press throughout the last twelve months is the chief cause; together with the fact that every *anti*-German movement is received with enthusiasm here, viz. that of the Italians against Austria; of the Hungarians against the same; of the Danes against Schleswig and Holstein; of the Poles against Prussia and Austria.

'Germany is annihilated if she loses Venice, Galicia, Hungary, Posen, and Holstein, and is surrounded instead by hostile nations under the control of France. And yet this is what so-called public opinion in this country is aiming at and desiring. It taxes Prussia, at the same time, with culpable designs of aggrandisement, and rails at the small States as miserable, and such as ought to be swamped, while it most inconsistently holds up Victor Emmanuel and Cavour as the models for Prussia. Now what would be easier for Prussia than a bargain with France, to assist in the conquest of all the smaller States of Germany, and to receive Belgium as a prize? This would even go beyond Cavour, as it would pay out of a neighbour's pocket instead of his own. England would then have to fight alone for Belgium—for even Austria might be won by some guarantee of her possessions or compensation in Bavaria.

'The King of Prussia's honourable character is our guarantee against such doings, and this very character is assailed by *The Times* for its smallness of views, want of decision, &c. &c., and contrasted with the *Galantuomo*.

'Of German politics themselves I could tell you little that is new. The position of all parties is exactly the same as it has been for the last two years. Perhaps the Unionist party has gained some greater strength in the South. But Prussia is not more liked there than she was; at the same time one cannot say more for the Sardinian at Naples. My belief is, that the result of the Austrian crisis will decide the fate of Germany. Should Austria succeed in establishing a more compact State with constitutional Government, she must secede from Germany, and can afford to do so. If she is to remain a loose agglomerate, she will require her hold on Germany for her own existence more than ever.

'If Austria should break up, the German provinces must be absorbed in Germany, and the whole balance of power in Germany will be altered.

'I will not bore you with more of my reflections.

'Trusting that your expedition will turn out in every way satisfactory to you, I am, &c.

'ALBERT.

'Balmoral, 6th October, 1861.'

The same day the Prince wrote to the King of Prussia:—

'Balmoral, 6th October, 1861.

'My dear Cousin,—Lord Clarendon will be the bearer of these lines, and will take care to be in Berlin by the day indicated. It was a very kind thought on your part, that by the day of his arrival he should gain a step in advance among the envoys. With reference to the further kindness which you have designed for him by the gift of "The Black Eagle," I am authorised to say that, gratefully as Victoria would be disposed to accept such a distinction for her representative, and happy as this particular distinction would make her, she is nevertheless compelled to suggest that the offer of it should not be made.

'Over and above the reason, which I have already taken

the liberty of submitting to you through Augusta [the Queen of Prussia], as likely to govern the decision, there is the further reason, that Lord Clarendon as Foreign Minister had to prohibit numbers of persons from accepting Foreign Orders, and it is possible he may have again in the same capacity to follow the same course, and it would be taken amiss, were he to make an exception in his own case to a rule which has been so rigorously maintained. Lord Granville, at the Coronation of the Emperor of Russia, the Duke of Northumberland at that of Charles X., Lord Beauvale at that of the Emperor Ferdinand, were also compelled to decline the distinction, and the case of the Duke of Devonshire seems to have been a peculiar one, and to have arisen through the relations of personal friendship which had subsisted between the Emperor Nicholas and himself.

'Bertie has come back in raptures with his excursion to the manœuvres, and cannot speak sufficiently highly of your kindness to himself, and to all the English officers. It was a matter of great satisfaction to me, that so many of these had an opportunity of witnessing the reception given to you on the Rhine, and of bringing back with them so good an opinion of the Prussian army.

'Your interview at Compiègne is to take place to-day. The whole Diplomatic Corps is pricking up its ears, and as these are tolerably long, the spectacle is remarkable.

'However, to-day I will spare you on the subject of politics, and remain, as ever, your true cousin and friend,

'ALBERT.'

The voluble speculations to which the visit of the King of Prussia to the Emperor of the French gave rise, were as idle as such speculations always must be. That its object was a close alliance between France and Prussia, and a cooling off from England, was the favourite surmise. In truth the visit was a

mere visit of courtesy, in return for that paid by the Emperor of the French at Baden-Baden in the previous autumn. The King of Prussia's views as to his duty to Germany and its Sovereigns remained what they had been upon that occasion, and the Emperor was too well aware of the fact to approach political topics which could only embarrass his guest, without leading to any practical results. The occasion had, indeed, been seized for reopening in some of the journals, and also in a pamphlet called *Le Rhin et la Vistule*, alleged to have been inspired from head-quarters, the old question of rectifying the French frontier as settled in 1815. Its suggestions of annexation modestly stopped short of the Palatinate and the Rhine, but included territory the surrender of which would have been impossible to any loyal German. These found, however, no echo in the Emperor's conversation, as indeed might have been expected from one whose natural courtesy was sure to impose silence upon such a subject with such a guest, even if silence had not been equally dictated by common prudence. In any case the King of Prussia left Compiègne with a grateful consciousness of the admirable good taste and feeling shown by the Emperor in forbearing to entangle him in disagreeable discussions, not only upon this subject, but upon any of the other European problems which were at that moment waiting for solution. It was almost a matter of course, that very varied accounts, some of them sufficiently disquieting, of what had passed at Compiègne should reach the English Government; but thanks to the same frank spirit, which, through the medium of the Prince Consort, had possessed them of the truth as to the interviews at Baden-Baden, at Töplitz, and at Warsaw, they were early made aware of the fact that nothing had occurred of the slightest significance in a political point of view.

## CHAPTER CXV.

On the 18th of October, the coronation of the King of Prussia took place in the Church of the Castle of Königsberg. The ceremonial was magnificent and impressive. In a letter which Lord Clarendon wrote to the Queen next day, the following passage occurs :—

'That most interesting and imposing ceremony took place yesterday, and with the most complete and unalloyed success. Everything was conducted with the most perfect order—the service not too long, the vocal music enchanting; but the great feature of the ceremony was the manner in which the Princess Royal did homage to the King. Lord Clarendon is at a loss for words to describe to your Majesty the exquisite grace and the intense emotion with which her Royal Highness gave effect to her feelings on the occasion. Many, and older as well as younger men than Lord Clarendon, who had not his interest in the Princess Royal, were quite as unable as himself to repress their emotion at that which was so touching, because so unaffected and sincere.'[1]

Gratifying to the Queen and Prince as this part of Lord Clarendon's letter must have been, still more gratifying must have been the following tribute to the judgment, the foresight, and the political sagacity of the Crown Princess, and to the hold she had established upon the respect and affection of the people of her adopted country :—

[1] Lord Granville, in a letter to the Prince from Berlin (24th October), says: 'Every one who has spoken to me agrees, that one of the most graceful and touching sights that ever was seen was the Crown Princess's salute of the King.'

'Lord Clarendon has had the honour to hold a very long conversation with her Royal Highness, and has been more than ever astonished at the *statesmanlike* and comprehensive views which she takes of the policy of Prussia, both internal and foreign, and of the *duties* of a constitutional king. Lord Clarendon is not at all astonished, but very much pleased, to find how thoroughly appreciated and beloved her Royal Highness is by all classes. Every member of the Royal family has spoken of her to Lord Clarendon in terms of admiration, and through various channels he has had opportunities of learning how strong the feeling of educated and enlightened people is towards her Royal Highness. All persons say most truly, that any one who saw her Royal Highness yesterday can never forget her.'

While the Crown Princess produced the remarkable impression which has been above described, upon the spectators of the stately ceremonial at Königsberg, the incidents which chiefly struck herself were of a different kind. In a letter to the Queen (19th of October), her Royal Highness says: 'I should like to be able to describe yesterday's ceremony to you, but I cannot find words to tell you how fine and how touching it was. It really was a magnificent sight. The King looked so very handsome, and so noble with the crown on; it seemed to suit him so exactly. The Queen, too, looked beautiful, and did all she had to do with such perfect grace, and looked so "*vornehm* (distinguished)." The moment when the King put the crown on the Queen's head, was very touching. I think there was hardly a dry eye in the Church.' The Crown Princess then proceeds to describe, with a vivid sense of the picturesque, the general effect of the Church, with its magnificent hangings of red velvet and gold, and the brilliant array of rich costumes, on which the sunshine poured through the high windows during the ceremony. 'The music,' she adds, 'was very fine, and the chorales were sung so loud and strong, that I was greatly moved. The

King was immensely cheered wherever he appeared, also the Queen, and even I.'

Lord Clarendon had not been many days in Prussia before he became deeply concerned at the bad effect produced there by the persistent attacks of *The Times* for many months upon everything Prussian, to which the Prince had adverted in his letter to him of the 6th of October (*supra*, p. 392). 'It is quite unnecessary,' he wrote, in a letter to the Queen (21st of October) 'to inform your Majesty of the enormous and wanton mischief done by the articles in *The Times*, which offend the whole nation, and particularly the army, as they are studiously reproduced with comments in the German newspapers. They mortify all those who desire to promote a good understanding between the two countries, and, *if anything could do so*, they would damage the position of the Crown Princess.'

Of all men, Lord Clarendon was little likely to take exception to the utmost freedom of discussion in the press, but he no doubt expected that the press should in turn exercise the great power, which it justly claims for itself, with a due sense of the responsibility that no less justly rests upon all who profess to guide public opinion. And as the responsibility is greatest where the power is greatest, anything like a reckless use of its power by the leading journal,—generally considered on the Continent, as it was, to be the organ of the Government,—seemed to him peculiarly culpable. So serious, at all events, was the view which he took of the alienation between this country and Germany, which was being engendered by the contemptuous and insulting tone in which Germans and their institutions were constantly spoken of in the leading articles of *The Times*, that, in the same letter, he suggested that Her Majesty should call the attention of Lord Palmerston to it. In another letter, three days later, Lord Clarendon recurs to the subject:—

'The mischief,' he says, 'is incalculable that all the recent articles have done us, with a people who ask no better than to be our friends, and who are indignant that we should meddle with their affairs for no other purpose than insult. If anything could make the Liberal party defend the King's exposition of the Divine Right,[2] it would be the attacks upon it in *The Times*, for they say truly, that although on principle they agree with the article, yet they must spurn every opinion given with a manifest intention to offend. Lord Clarendon is all the more annoyed at *The Times*' system, because it evidently preys upon the Princess Royal's spirits, and materially affects her position in Prussia.'

Whether Lord Palmerston, on being informed of what Lord Clarendon had written, used what influence he was supposed to have with the conductors of the leading journal to bring about a more temperate expression of their views, or whether their writers were moved by their own discretion, is a matter of little moment.[3] But from this time

[2] In addressing the members of the Prussian Chambers the day before his coronation, the King had said: 'The Rulers of Prussia receive their crown from God. This is the signification of the expression, "King, by the grace of God," and therein lies the sanctity of the Crown, which is inviolable.'

[3] The following passages, bearing upon English journalism, occur in a letter by Lord Palmerston to the Queen (30th of October, 1861):—

'The newspapers on the Continent are all, more or less, under a certain degree of control, and the most prominent among them are the organs of political parties, or of leading public men; and it is not unnatural that governments and parties on the Continent should think that English newspapers are published under similar conditions. But in this country all thriving newspapers are commercial undertakings, and are conducted on commercial principles, and none others are able long to maintain an existence.' He then goes on to say, that what makes a newspaper pay is its advertisements, but these go by preference to the newspaper which has the greatest circulation; and that paper gets the widest circulation which is the most amusing, the most interesting, the most instructive. A dull paper is soon left off.

'The proprietors and managers of *The Times*, therefore, go to great expense in sending correspondents to all parts of the world where interesting events are taking place; and they employ a great many able and clever men to write articles upon all subjects which, from time to time, engage public attention. Then, as mankind take more pleasure in reading criticism and fault-finding than praise' [Lord Palmerston had obviously not forgotten his Tacitus: '*Obtrectatio et livor pronis auribus accipiuntur*,'] 'because it is soothing to individual

an improved tone was certainly perceptible in what they said, both of the German people and of their Sovereign.

While the Prince was at Balmoral, he received a letter from Lord Ellenborough, enclosing the copy of a speech which he had recently made at Gloucester on the subject of the Volunteer movement. 'The subject,' he wrote, 'is of such vital importance, that I thought it necessary to tell the people what I believe to be the truth about it, and I am anxious that what I really said should be known.' What he said was exactly after the Prince's own heart; for it enforced the principles for which he had always been contending, that strict discipline, and the habit of acting in the combined movements of masses, were essential to make the Volunteers a power on which reliance could be placed in the case of invasion, against which he considered that 'the silver streak of sea' no longer furnished the same immunity as before the days of steam navies. Lord Ellenborough's speech was addressed to Volunteers after a rifle competition; and he took the opportunity to tell them that, useful as accuracy of aim undoubtedly was, it was of little account in actual warfare without the mutual reliance of officers and men which results from discipline.

'No troops are of real value to a general,' he said, 'unless he can move them where he pleases, unless he can place them in positions which he knows they will defend without assistance,

vanity and conceit to fancy that the reader has become wiser than those about whom he reads, so *The Times*, in order to maintain the circulation, criticises freely everybody and everything, and especially events, and persons, and Governments abroad, because such strictures are less likely to make enemies at home than violent attacks upon persons and parties in this country. Foreign Governments and parties ought, therefore, to look upon English newspapers in the true point of view, and not to be too sensitive as to attacks which these papers may contain. Foreign Governments do understand the true state of the case; but their subjects do not, and until their own press is wholly free, they can scarcely be expected to do so. England, accustomed to her free press, is *not* sensitive to the abuse of the press of other countries. In this very year 1861 she endured that of the American press, virulent as it was, with entire equanimity.'

unless he can rely upon them entirely; and no man can do this, if his troops have not discipline. I recollect Sir Charles Napier, who knew war better than any man in his day, saying, "Enthusiasm runs away." This is rather a strong expression, although we have seen something of it in America [at the recent battle of Bull's Run]; and observe, there it occurred, where the men possessed great courage, and have the greatest accuracy of aim; and yet they ran away, because they had no discipline. . . . The power to win a victory must be obtained, not by assembling in companies, but in battalions, and even in brigades, and it is only by the assistance of Government that the Volunteers can obtain the proficiency of movement in the field, which will make them of real use to a general.'

Lord Ellenborough's letter drew from the Prince the following reply:—

'Balmoral, 3rd October, 1861.

'My dear Lord Ellenborough,—You are very kind to have sent me a correct copy of your speech about the Volunteers. Such good advice as you gave them cannot fail to be of use to a movement, the importance of which cannot be over-estimated. Naples and North America have within less than a year shown the advantages and dangers of Volunteer forces. But in neither case have they had to meet good regular troops. The German Volunteers in 1813 are still the only instance of successes of such forces against a good army, and in that case they were incorporated with regular troops. In Spain the Volunteers were not worth much; in the Tyrol, in 1809, they derived peculiar advantages from the nature of their country, which prevented the use of cavalry and artillery.

'I should be afraid of a large Volunteer army by itself in the field, opposed to an army of Regulars. In India, I believe, you put your native troops between regiments of the Line.

'The organisation of our Militia, Volunteers, and Yeo-

manry, as an integral part of the army, is an object which I have not as yet seen treated professionally, and with a view to practical steps, and it is certainly one of great importance, though of great difficulty. 120,000 Militia, 120,000 Volunteers, and 20,000 Yeomanry, making a total of 260,000 troops, of only partial training, and differing in character from each other, would have to give body to about 50,000 good regular troops in the field!

'This will require a great deal of organising, and if left to the last moment of danger, may lead to inextricable confusion.'

There was no topic in connection with the national defences on which the Prince did not take means to keep himself thoroughly informed. The improvements in all kinds of firearms were the subject of his most careful study and observation. His knowledge and judgment on these topics were constantly appealed to; and a few days after the date of the letter just quoted, we find him writing to Lord Palmerston, giving his experience of the advantages of the breech-loading rifle, which had not then obtained general recognition:—

'Balmoral, 12th October, 1861.

'My dear Lord Palmerston,—I am glad to see from your letter of the 7th inst., that you keep up the steam about our Defences. Shorncliffe wants sadly a drill-ground, and I am happy to hear that three hundred acres of land adjoining the camp are to be had. The purchase would be most useful for that camp.

'With regard to the Enfield rifle, I do not know what the objection taken to it is. A greater strength in the barrel is all that I thought might be required; for, as regards range and accuracy of shooting, it goes far beyond the possible requirements of military service. If a change be contem-

plated, it will be worth considering whether we should not at once go to the breech-loaders. They are sure to carry the day eventually, and there are plenty of patents out, which answer admirably. The breech-loading carbine of the cavalry is a most excellent weapon (it is W. Richards'). We have tried it here after deer and found it very good. I have been shooting this year exclusively with Lancaster's breech-loaders,[4] and found the advantage in a hundred ways so great over the muzzle-loading rifles, that I shall quite abandon these. I have not met with one accident in loading or firing, nor has it missed fire once in all the rain we have had, whilst the muzzle-loaders, with every care, have missed fire several times.

'The simplification of the ammunition, dispensing with a separate cap, is another great advantage; so is the power of loading in any position, without exposing oneself (stretched out in the heather, for instance).

'The question of altering the bore of our muskets is, on the other hand, a most serious one, leading to mixture of ammunition, which would be fatal in military operations. We must have 220,000 Enfield rifle muskets out in the Army, 120,000 in the Militia, and near 100,000 amongst the Volunteers—together somewhere about 400,000, and we have got about 300,000 in store, and must have several millions of cartridges made up.

'One decided superiority *Whitworth's* rifle has over all others, and that is the more horizontal trajectory. All other long-range rifles throw their balls at high elevations, so that the men are sure to miss by shooting over or under the object aimed at, if they have been in error in accurately judging the distance, which will and must constantly happen.'

Several of the Prince's letters to Baron Stockmar remained

[4] The Queen's gift—see *supra*, p. 381.

unanswered; but the old man was so mixed up with every home association, that the Prince, however busy, continued to keep him apprised of all that was passing in the Royal circle. The following letter was the last the Baron was to receive from Balmoral:—

'Time runs on its course, and I observe that once more a considerable space has elapsed since I wrote to you last. Our stay at Balmoral is approaching its end, and has done us good, as usual. Little Arthur was despatched to Windsor on Saturday last, that he might devote himself there to his studies for some days, undisturbed by the rest of the family.

'Dr. Günther, a Würtemberg physician, who was formerly in the family of Lord John Russell, has been with us for the last four days, and has undertaken the superintendence of little Leopold, whom he is to accompany, at the beginning of November, to Cannes for the winter. Sir Edward, Lady, and Miss Bowater will go there with him, and he (Bowater) will take the ostensible charge.

'The Prince of Wales leaves to-morrow for Cambridge, and three days later Louis [Prince of Hesse] returns to Darmstadt. The former has come back greatly pleased with his interview with the Princess of Holstein at Speier.

'. . . His present wish, after his time at the University is up, which it will be about Christmas, is to travel; and we have gladly assented to his proposal to visit the Holy Land. This, under existing circumstances, is the most useful tour he can make, and will occupy him till early in June.

'. . . In home politics we have perfect tranquillity; in foreign, the press, and particularly *The Times*, is doing all it can to alienate England and Germany from each other as widely as possible; and a formal crusade is in progress against Prussia, as it formerly was against Naples. To what end? Why? I have lost my wits puzzling over these questions.

One end has been thoroughly gained, for here animosity is kindled against Germany, and there downright hatred towards England.

'How are you? It is useless to ask, for you won't answer, yet an answer I should like very much to have. To be forced to be so wholly without interchange of thought with you, is to me a great privation.

'Balmoral, 14th October, 1861.

'P.S.—We leave this on the 22nd. I have two foundation stones to lay in Edinburgh the next day, and that same evening we move on to Windsor.'

The foundation stones here referred to by the Prince were those of the new Post Office and of the Industrial Museum. On the 23rd of October, the Court having reached Holyrood the previous evening, the ceremony of laying these stones was gone through by the Prince, under a sunless sky and with a keen autumn wind blowing, both most unfavourable for a ceremonial, of which long extempore prayers formed an important part, during which the immediate spectators were expected to stand in the open air with heads uncovered. The crowd assembled to greet the Prince was very great, and he appears to have been gratified by the warmth of their demonstrations. The same evening the Court proceeded to Windsor Castle, which was reached before nine next morning. During their absence considerable improvements had been made in the Corridors, the Royal Closet, the Waterloo Gallery, and other parts of the Castle, in devising which the Prince had taken great interest, and which he mentions in his Diary as having been most satisfactorily carried out.

The next day brought the tidings of the death of Sir James Graham, who, although in failing health, had taken an active part in some of the most important discussions of the previous

Session. In politics the Prince regarded him as too much of a partisan, and too covetous of popularity to be entitled to take a leading rank as a statesman; but he was very sensible of the loss to the country, and to his party, of a man whose ability and experience in administration and in Parliamentary tactics gave him great weight in council, and whose vigorous eloquence was often most serviceable in debate.

Baron Stockmar was sure to hear with concern of the death of one with whom he had long been intimate. The Prince touches upon this in the following letter to him:—

'Windsor Castle, 28th October, 1861.

'I must announce to you our safe return to old Windsor, where we are once more settled. The first day the Queen's wounds were opened afresh, and she suffered greatly, as it is the first time she has lived here without finding Mama at Frogmore. The void struck home to the heart; but now habit, with its healing power, grows daily stronger.

'The death of so old an acquaintance as Sir James Graham will have distressed you not a little. Politically he was used up, especially as he had not the courage to undertake the part which, from his position and experience, devolved on him, of moderator and arbitrator amid the complications of every-day policy. . . . His loss, important as he was, will therefore be scarcely felt in the country as a loss.

'The speeches of the King of Prussia at Königsberg have produced a bad impression here, and the theory of the Divine right of kings (apart from being an absurdity in itself, and exploded here for the last two hundred years) is suitable neither to the position and vocation of Prussia nor to those of the King. The difficulty of establishing united action between Prussia and England has been again infinitely augmented by this royal programme. Otherwise, everything seems to have gone off admirably at the Coronation. . . .'

For some days after his return to Windsor Castle, the Prince appeared to be in fair health, and went about his avocations as usual. He occupied himself with making arrangements for the future household of the Princess Alice, and for the journey of Prince Leopold under the care of Sir Edward and Lady Bowater to Cannes, where he was to spend the winter, leaving England on the 4th of November. The Prince also made visits to London to inspect the alterations which were in progress in the Chapel at Buckingham Palace, and at Marlborough House, which was being prepared as a residence for the Prince of Wales. He went on the 4th of November to Wellington College, to inspect the building operations there, and two days afterwards went again to town, to preside at the monthly meeting of the Agricultural Society, and also to examine the progress of the building for the Great Exhibition of 1862, and the works at the Horticultural Gardens. On the 8th and 9th he went out pheasant-shooting in Windsor Park and pursued the sport with his usual eagerness and success.

At this time a feverish illness of the Crown Princess of Prussia, the result of a severe cold caught at the Coronation at Königsberg, occasioned some anxiety to the Queen and Prince. But just when this was being removed by news of her recovery, they were greatly disquieted by tidings from Lisbon of the outbreak of typhoid fever in the Portuguese Royal family, to whom they were most warmly attached. On the 6th of November a telegram informed them that the King's brother, Prince Ferdinand, had died of the fever that morning. His brothers, Prince Louis, Duke of Oporto, and Prince John, Duke of Beja, arrived in England next day from Prussia, where they had been to attend the King's Coronation, and visited the Queen and Prince before setting out for Lisbon. Meanwhile the King, Don Pedro V., had been seized with the fever, and its fatal issue in his brother's case

naturally filled the mind of the Prince, who loved the King with an affection almost paternal, with grave alarm.

The Castle was full of guests at the time—the Grand Duke and Grand Duchess Constantine, the Duke of Cambridge, Lord Granville, Earl and Countess Russell, Lord and Lady Sydney, Baron and Baroness Brunnow, and others—who remained till the 9th. 'This,' the Queen's Diary records, 'was our dear Bertie's twentieth birthday. I pray God, to assist our efforts to make him turn out well. . . . The bells rang in the afternoon, and I felt so sad! I missed beloved Mama so much! Last year she was still here, and though she could no longer come to breakfast as she had always done before, she came to luncheon beautifully dressed, and we had been down to see her in the morning. It was the first birthday fête spent here without her, and the difference was most painfully felt. All our people, in and out of the house, came to dinner. Bertie led me in, by Albert's wish, and I sat between him and Albert. The band played for the first time since our sad loss.'

The next day brought tidings that, since his brother's death, the King of Portugal had become much worse, and that his life was in danger. 'We were in the greatest distress and anxiety,' is the entry in Her Majesty's Diary, 'and I at once said I felt as if it would be Stephanie's case over again,[5] yet we could not even bear to think of such a catastrophe.' The tidings next day left little room for hope. The Prince had gone to London to preside at a meeting of the Governors of Wellington College, and also at a Council of the Duchy of Cornwall, and on his return to Windsor Castle in the evening he found a telegram from the King's father, which led him to anticipate the worst. His fears were fatally confirmed next morning by a further telegram announcing that his friend had died the previous evening.

[5] See *ante*, vol. iv. p. 465. Prince John, Duke of Beja, who was only nineteen, caught the fever, and died at Lisbon on the 22nd of December.

In her Diary for the day Her Majesty writes: 'Such a fearful loss! and nothing to be grateful for, as in dear Mama's case—the saving from all future suffering and pain! The only thought which has comfort in it is that he—dear, pure, excellent Pedro—is united to his darling angel Stephanie, and that he is spared the pang and sacrifice of having to marry again. But it is an irreparable loss for the country, which adored him,—for his and our family, of which he was the brightest ornament,—for Europe—in short, for every one. Highly gifted and most able, pure, virtuous, excellent, hard-working to a degree, and only devoted to duty, he was one in a thousand. My Albert was very fond of him, loved him like a son (as I did too), while he had unbounded confidence in Albert, and was worthy of him. . . . It was like another awful dream! Dear Pedro! Only twenty-five, gone from this world, in which he was certainly never happy! It is too, too dreadful!'

The next day the Prince relieved his heart by writing to the Crown Princess; but with his wonted self-command, he gave no indication of the extent to which he had been shaken by the death of the young King:—

'Windsor Castle, 13th November, 1861.

'I cannot realise to my mind the fact of dear Pedro being snatched from this earth and Louis in his place. What a terrible blow for the unhappy country, for poor Ferdinand! With the good Pedro it is well. What with the wounds which the loss of his Stephanie left in his heart, the mournful cast of thought which was peculiar to his nature, and the great conscientiousness which made him feel so deeply everything that affected his own duty and the welfare of his country, he would never have been entirely happy here below, and now he is united to the angel who went before him. But he was qualified to effect infinite good for a

degraded country and people, and also to uphold with integrity the monarchical principle, and to strengthen the faith in its blessings, which unhappily is so frequently shaken to its foundation by those who are its representatives.

'Spare yourself, nurse yourself, and get completely well. The disaster in Portugal is another proof that we are never safe to refuse Nature her rights.'

The Prince also wrote to Baron Stockmar. This letter has a peculiar interest as the last of the long series to that trusted friend, and from the expressions it contains of the same yearning towards him as his best adviser, which had marked all their intercourse, when in the early years of their friendship he had leant upon him for counsel and guidance. The Prince had some anxiety and annoyance of a private nature at the very time the intelligence reached him of the King of Portugal's death. At any other time, or if his health had not been already shaken, he would not have allowed it to weigh unduly upon his spirits. As it was, however, he was unable to shake it off. It haunted him with the persistency with which even trifles haunt the mind, when the nervous system has been overtaxed. This torturing tyranny of ever-recurring thought is never more relentless than when sleeplessness has set in; and this was the Prince's case: for we learn, by an entry in his Diary (24th November), that for the last fourteen days his nights had been almost wholly wakeful. Again and again, in former days, the Prince had talked out his troubles with the Baron: there was no one else but the Queen with whom he could talk them out; and there is a peculiar pathos in the few words of this letter in which he tells his aged friend that he is in sore need of a true friend and counsellor, and that it is of him he thinks in his perplexity:—

'With us you will have bewailed the sad calamity in

Portugal. You knew my love for Pedro, and how, by the interchange of our ideas, we endeavoured to work for the advancement of that unhappy country, and you will therefore be able to imagine my distress. For Ferdinand to lose both his sons in one week, to know that the life of the third is in danger, was indeed terrible. He had just seen his last daughter [the Princess Antoinette] leave the paternal home, and his other sons were still here. We saw them only for a moment before they started; they were then mourning for their younger brother, and full of anxiety for their eldest. They will have reached Lisbon yesterday evening, or early to-day.[6]

'The Princess Royal has been very unwell, and is still suffering in her ears and head. We have advised the greatest prudence and circumspection, and are heartily glad that an intended visit to Breslau must be given up. Moral agitation about the posture of affairs politically may have combined with the various exertions and chills to which she was exposed during the festivities to make her ill.

'I am fearfully in want of a true friend and counsellor, and that *you* are the friend and counsellor I want, you will readily understand.

'We have heard from little Leopold from Avignon, and of Alfred from Halifax. He is to accompany the expedition against Mexico.

'Windsor Castle, 14th November, 1861.'

Prince Leopold left England on the 4th of November, and reached Cannes on the 14th of that month. His journey was retarded by the illness of Sir Edward Bowater, whose malady continued to increase, after his arrival at Cannes, and ended, as will presently be seen, fatally.

[6] They reached Lisbon on the 18th. Next day their father telegraphed to the Queen: '*Louis et Jean sont arrivés hier matin en bonne santé; j'ai déjà remis le gouvernement à Louis.*'

The day the letter just cited was written, the Prince had gone out shooting. The Queen, in her Diary, notes that he was 'low and sad,' and indeed it was apparent to Her Majesty, that the blow had struck deep, and that the Prince was not in a state to encounter the fatigue of the duties which every day brought with it. The frequent journeys to London since his return from the Highlands had added to these fatigues, and on the 12th, the Queen wrote to Sir Charles Phipps (the Prince's secretary), calling his attention to the fact that the Prince had never 'gone so often as he had done this year, even after the longest absence,' and expressing a hope that he would not again be called upon in the same way for some time. Sir Charles Phipps, who was only too well aware of the undue strain which the Prince had so long kept upon his strength, at once replied:—

'He can with the greatest sincerity assure your Majesty, that not even your Majesty can be more anxious to save the Prince from unnecessary business.

'The health of the Prince is indeed of an importance that cannot be overrated; and it has been Sir C. Phipps's study for many years to assist and lighten the business which in such an endless variety of shapes comes before his Royal Highness.'

So well had the Prince borne up, that not even so keen and close an observer was conscious of any alteration in his looks, for in the same letter he writes, that he thought, 'when he saw the Prince last night, that his Royal Highness was looking in much better health, and seemed in very good spirits.'

The 21st of November was the twenty-first anniversary of the Crown Princess's birthday. From the letter which the Prince sent to greet her on that day, we are enabled to present the following passages. It was all but the last she was to receive from the parent who idolised her, and who was idolised by her in return; but what more blessed parting

counsel and benediction could loving child desire from loving father ?—

'Windsor Castle, 19th November, 1861.

'May your life, which has begun beautifully, expand still further to the good of others and the contentment of your own mind ! True inward happiness is to be sought only in the internal consciousness of effort systematically directed to good and useful ends. Success indeed depends upon the blessing which the Most High sees meet to vouchsafe to our endeavours. May this success not fail you, and may your outward life leave you unhurt by the storms, to which the sad heart so often looks forward with a shrinking dread !

'Without the basis of health it is impossible to rear anything stable. The frightful event in Portugal stands in strong outline before our eyes.

'Therefore see that you spare yourself now, so that at some future time you may be able to do more.'

## CHAPTER CXVI.

It was characteristic of the Prince Consort that he contemplated the prospect of death with an equanimity by no means common in men of his years. This was owing to no indifference or distaste for life. He enjoyed it, and was happy and cheerful in his work, in his family circle, in loving thoughtfulness for others, and in the sweet returns of affection which this brought back to himself. But he had none of the strong yearning for life and fulness of years which is felt by those who shrink from looking beyond 'the warm precincts of the genial day' into a strange and uncertain future. He had no wish to die, but he did not care for living. Not long before his fatal illness, in speaking to the Queen, he said: 'I do not cling to life. You do; but I set no store by it. If I knew that those I love were well cared for, I should be quite ready to die to-morrow.' In the same conversation, he added: '*I* am sure, if I had a severe illness, I should give up at once, I should not struggle for life. I have no tenacity of life.' This was said without a trace of sadness: he was content to stay, if such were Heaven's will; he was equally ready to go hence, should that will be otherwise.

Death in his view was but the portal to a further life, in which he might hope for a continuance, under happier conditions, of all that was best in himself and in those he loved, unclogged by the weaknesses, and unsaddened by the failures, the misunderstandings, the sinfulness, and the sorrows of earthly existence.

'This spirit,' the Queen writes in a memorandum in 1862,

'this beautiful, cheerful spirit it was, which made him always happy, always contented, though he felt so deeply and so acutely when others did wrong, and when people did not do their duty; it was this power he had of taking interest in everything, attending to everything, which prompted those blessed feelings about eternity. He was ready to live, ready to die, "not because I wish to be happier," as he often remarked, but because he was quite ready to go. He did not do what was right for the sake of a reward hereafter, but, as he always said, "because it was right."'

It will be apparent from what has been said in the previous chapter, that the Prince Consort was in a state of health when any little casualty, whether of exposure to bad weather, or to any noxious agent of any kind, could scarcely fail to affect him seriously. The immediately operative cause of the fever under which he sank has never been actually ascertained; but its germination has been traced back with some precision to the 22nd of November, when he went to Sandhurst, to inspect the buildings for the new Staff College and Royal Military Academy, which were then in progress. He had, as we have already seen, felt the deepest interest in these institutions, and he had learned by experience that careful forethought in laying out the plans of such establishments was not more necessary than a watchful eye over the way in which these plans were carried out. Despite a day of incessant rain,—'*entsetzlicher Regen*' ('terrific rain') is the name he gives it in his Diary—he drove over to Sandhurst, in the morning, from Windsor, made a careful survey of what was being done, and found, to his satisfaction, that the works, since he had last seen them, had made good progress. He was back at Windsor Castle by two, and complained, says Her Majesty's Diary, 'of being tired, and much of the weather.' There can be little doubt that the fatigue and exposure which he had undergone produced an injurious effect.

The sleeplessness, which had begun on the 10th, continued; and the Queen's Diary of the 23rd mentions that 'it made him weak and tired.' That day he went out shooting with Prince Ernest Leiningen for a few hours. It was the last time he did so. News had arrived of the serious illness of Sir Edward Bowater at Cannes, and the Prince had to busy himself in making arrangements for some one to take his place with Prince Leopold, in the event of a successor becoming necessary.[1] Count Lavradio also came to the Castle the same day, bringing with him letters from the father and brother of the King of Portugal, and gave the Queen and Prince all the distressing details of the young King's death.

Next day, the 24th, was a Sunday, and the Prince walked down with the Queen, the Royal children, the Prince and Princess of Leiningen, to Frogmore, where they visited the Duchess of Kent's mausoleum. The Prince's Diary for the day contains only the following entry: 'Am full of rheumatic pains, and feel thoroughly unwell. Have scarcely closed my eyes at night for the last fortnight.'

Next morning he left Windsor at half-past ten, and travelled to Cambridge by rail, on a visit to the Prince of Wales at Maddingley. The day was cold and stormy, and the Prince's Diary records that he was 'still greatly out of sorts.'

He was back at Windsor Castle by half-past one next day. '*Bin recht elend*' ('Am very wretched') is the entry in his Diary. He could not join the Queen, as usual, in her walk—feeling that he must rest, 'and very uncomfortable from pains in the back and legs.'

Next day was no better. Again the night had been bad, and the Prince still complained of rheumatic pains, and of a great feeling of weariness and weakness. Although able to move about, he had frequently to rest himself, and was not

[1] The necessity did arise, as Sir Edward Bowater died at Cannes on the fatal 14th of December.

strong enough to go out. On the 28th he was no better, and felt greatly out of spirits, when the tidings arrived of the outrage by the Americans on the British flag, which came presently to be known as the *Trent* affair. The incident was of a character so serious, and produced a feeling of indignation throughout the kingdom so general, that its effect was to add anxiety to the depression which had already become one of the most distressing symptoms of the Prince's illness.

So important was the part which he played in guiding the action of the Government on this the very last occasion on which the value of his counsels to the land of his adoption was to be shown, that we pause in our narrative to dwell in some detail upon the circumstances of a dispute which, for a time, seemed to threaten the friendly relations between the two countries.

On the 8th of November the English steamer *Trent*, which had sailed from the Havannah for England the day before with mails and passengers, was met by the *San Jacinto*, an American ship of war. A round shot, soon afterwards followed by a shell, fired by the *San Jacinto* across the bows of the *Trent*, left her captain no alternative but to bring to. She was immediately boarded by an American officer, Captain Wilkes, accompanied by a large guard of marines, who demanded a list of the passengers. This being refused, he said he had orders to arrest Messrs. Mason, Slidell, McFarland, and Eustis, who, he had sure information, were on board. Messrs. Mason and Slidell were envoys accredited by the Confederated States, Mr. Mason to the English and Mr. Slidell to the French Court, and the other gentlemen were their secretaries. They had run the blockade from Charlestown to Cardenas in Cuba in the Confederate steamer *Nashville*, escaping the vigilance of the Federal vessels, which had been for some time on the look-out to

prevent their reaching a neutral port; and it was well known by the Federal authorities that they had done so with the view of finding their way to Europe. While the parley between the American officer and Commander Williams, the Government mail-agent on board the *Trent*, was going forward, Mr. Slidell ended it by stepping forward and telling Captain Wilkes that his friends and himself stood there before him. In defiance of the protest both of the Commander of the *Trent*, and of Commander Williams, against Mr. Mason and his friends, passengers in a British vessel from one neutral port to another, being seized, they were forcibly removed by Captain Wilkes, and the *Trent* was then allowed to proceed upon her way.

The excitement throughout the United Kingdom, when these facts became known after the arrival of the *Trent* at Southampton on the 27th of November, was very great. The outrage savoured so much of contemptuous defiance, that the national feeling was wounded to the quick. 'Bear this, bear all,' was the prevailing cry, and not an hour was lost in making preparations for the war, which it seemed to be the object of the Americans to provoke.[2] The law officers of the Crown gave their opinion, that the seizure of the American envoys was by international law illegal and unjustifi-

[2] Among other measures, which showed how thoroughly we were in earnest, troops to the number of 8,000 were despatched to Canada. This fact was urged as one of Mr. Cobden's items of indictment against what he called Lord Palmerston's 'sensation policy,' in a great speech in the House of Commons (August 1862), on the ground that we should have waited, before incurring this expense, for the answer of the Federal Government to our remonstrance. Statesmen, responsible for the maintenance of peace, however, know well that the surest way of preserving it, while men are what they are, is to let it be seen that the nation they represent is not afraid of war. It is well to note, in reference to Mr. Cobden's argument, what our Ambassador, Lord Lyons, wrote on the 19th of November, 1861, from Washington: 'I don't think it likely they will give in, but I do not think it impossible they may do so, *particularly if the next news from England brings note of warlike preparation, and determination on the part of the Government and the people.*'

able. Upon this the Cabinet, as Lord Palmerston wrote to the Queen on the 29th of November, had come to the conclusion that Her Majesty 'should be advised to demand reparation and redress.'

'The Cabinet,' he continued, 'is to meet again to-morrow at two, by which time Lord Russell will have prepared an instruction to Lord Lyons (our Ambassador at Washington) for consideration of the Cabinet, and for submission afterwards to your Majesty. The general outline and tenor which appeared to meet the opinions of the Cabinet would be, that the Washington Government should be told that what has been done is a violation of international law, and of the rights of Great Britain, and that your Majesty's Government trust that the act will be disavowed, and the prisoners set free and restored to British protection; and that Lord Lyons should be instructed, that, if this demand is refused, he should retire from the United States.'

In the same letter Lord Palmerston mentioned that Mrs. and Miss Slidell, who were then in London, had stated that the officer who boarded the *Trent* had said he was acting on his own responsibility, without instructions from Washington. Very possibly, therefore, his action might, they thought, be disavowed, and the prisoners be set free on their arrival in Washington. But this anticipation was obviously not shared by Lord Palmerston, who had been credibly informed that General Scott, of the Federal army, who was then in Paris, had said that the seizure had been deliberately determined on by the American Cabinet, even at the risk of provoking war with England, in which event General Scott gave out that he was commissioned to propose to France to join the Northern States against England, the bribe being the restoration of the French province of Canada to France. 'General Scott,' Lord Palmerston added, with a confidence which was speedily justified by the prompt disapproval by the French Emperor of what had taken place, 'will probably

find himself much mistaken as to the success of his overtures; for the French Government is more disposed towards the South than the North, and is probably thinking more about cotton than about Canada.'

Next day (30th of November) after the Cabinet meeting, Lord John Russell forwarded to the Queen the Drafts of the various Despatches which were to be sent to Lord Lyons. They reached Windsor Castle in the evening, and doubtless occupied much of the Prince's thoughts, in the long hours of the winter morning, when he found sleep impossible. Ill as he was, in accordance with his accustomed habit he rose at seven, and before eight he had finished and brought to the Queen the Draft of a Memorandum on the subject of these Despatches. 'He could eat no breakfast,' is the entry in Her Majesty's Diary, 'and looked very wretched. But still he was well enough on getting up to make a Draft for me to write to Lord Russell in correction of his Draft to Lord Lyons, sent to me yesterday, which Albert did not approve.' When he brought it to the Queen, he told her that he could scarcely hold his pen while writing it. Traces of his weakness are visible in the handwriting, and may be perceived in the annexed facsimile, even by those who are not familiar with his autograph. This facsimile has a special value, as representing the last political Memorandum written by the Prince, while it was at the same time inferior to none of them, as will presently be seen, in the importance of its results. It shows, like most of his Memorandums, by the corrections in the Queen's hand, how the minds of both were continually brought to bear upon the subjects with which they dealt.

What was the nature of the Prince's objection to the Draft of 'the principal Despatch' (the others were private, and not to be communicated to the United States Government), is sufficiently obvious from his Memorandum:—

'Windsor Castle, December 1, 1861.

'The Queen returns these important Drafts, which upon the whole she approves; but she cannot help feeling that the main Draft,—that for communication to the American Government—is somewhat meagre. She should have liked to have seen the expression of a hope, that the American captain did not act under instructions, or, if he did, that he misapprehended them,—that the United States Government must be fully aware that the British Government could not allow its flag to be insulted, and the security of her mail communications to be placed in jeopardy; and Her Majesty's Government are unwilling to believe that the United States Government intended wantonly to put an insult upon this country, and to add to their many distressing complications by forcing a question of dispute upon us, and that we are therefore glad to believe that, upon a full consideration of the circumstances of the undoubted breach of International Law committed, they would spontaneously offer such redress as alone could satisfy this country, viz. the restoration of the unfortunate passengers and a suitable apology.'

The suggestions here made at once commended themselves to Lord John Russell. 'Lord Palmerston thought them excellent,' are Lord Granville's words, in a letter next day to the Prince, in which he expresses his own delight that the Despatch had been altered in accordance with them. By the time this letter reached the Prince, he was already much worse. It was read to him by the Queen, and he was much gratified by the good result of his observations, which led to the removal from the Despatch of everything which could irritate a proud and sensitive nation, at the same time that it offered to them an opportunity of receding honourably from the position in which they had been placed by the indiscreet act of a too zealous navy captain.

V. Scott

Dec: 1. 1861.

The Queen returns these important Drafts which she approves but she cannot help feeling that the main draft, that for communication to the American Govt, is somewhat meagre. She should have liked to have seen the expression of a hope, that the American Govt: did not act under instructions or, if he did, that he exceeded them, that the U. S. Govt must be fully aware that the British Govt could not allow its flag to be insulted & the security of her

Mail communications to be placed in jeapardy U. S. Govt are unwilling to believe, that the U. S. Gt intends wantonly to put an insult upon this country & add to, many other subsisting complications by forming a ~~grievance~~ question of dispute upon us, & that one are therefore glad to believe that upon a full consideration of the circumstances of the ~~doubtless~~ breach of international Law committed, they would spontaneously offer, with redress so ample and satisfy this country viz: the restoration of the unfortunate passengers & suitable apology. —

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The Despatch was in fact remodelled upon the lines indicated by the Prince, its language being little more than his own cast into official form. After setting out the facts of the seizure, constituting 'an act of violence, which was an affront to the British flag and a violation of international law,' it proceeds:—

'Her Majesty's Government, bearing in mind the friendly relations which have long subsisted between Great Britain and the United States, are willing to believe that the United States naval officer who committed this aggression was not acting in compliance with any authority from his Government, or that, if he conceived himself to be so authorised, he greatly misunderstood the instructions which he had received. For the Government of the United States must be fully aware that the British Government could not allow such an affront to the national honour to pass without full reparation; and Her Majesty's Government are unwilling to believe that it could be the deliberate intention of the Government of the United States unnecessarily to force into discussion between the two Governments a question of so grave a character, and with regard to which the whole British Nation would be sure to entertain such unanimity of feeling.

'Her Majesty's Government therefore trust that, when this matter shall have been brought under the consideration of the United States, that Government will of its own accord offer to the British Government such redress as alone could satisfy the British nation, namely, the liberation of the four gentlemen, and their delivery to your Lordship, in order that they may again be placed under British protection, and a suitable apology for the aggression which has been committed.'

Whatever the answer of the American Government might be, the assurance that England had put herself in the right position by the moderation of her tone must have lightened the uneasy suspense that had seemed to come so inopportunely to aggravate the anxiety which the rapid progress of the Prince's illness was now causing to the Queen and to himself. In this crisis the Emperor of the French proved his loyalty to England by a prompt declaration, addressed by

M. Thouvenel to M. Mercier, the French Ambassador at Washington, that the French Government regarded the act of the captain of the *San Jacinto* as unjustifiable, accompanied by the expression of a hope that the President of the United States would accede to the British proposals, by giving up the prisoners, with such an explanation as would be satisfactory to our national feeling.[3] The same course was immediately adopted by Austria and Prussia; and similar views were without delay conveyed on the part of Russia by both Prince Gortschakoff and Baron Brunnow to their colleague at Washington. Better than all, in its influence on the other side of the Atlantic, was the calm and unmistakably resolute attitude of the united British nation. The effect of this upon the mind of influential Americans then in England was great—so great, that on the 5th of December Lord Palmerston, in a letter to the Queen, assured Her Majesty on the best authority, that Mr. Thurlow Weed,[4] a great friend and adviser of Mr.

[3] Even before these instructions reached Washington, M. Mercier had spoken to Mr. Seward in the same sense. On the 23rd of December Lord Lyons wrote to Lord Russell: 'M. Mercier went, of his own accord, to Mr. Seward the day before yesterday, and expressed strongly his own conviction that the choice lay only between a compliance with the demands of England and war. He begged Mr. Seward to dismiss all idea of assistance from France; and not to be led away by the vulgar notion, that the Emperor would gladly see England embroiled with the United States, in order to pursue his own plans in Europe without opposition.'

[4] We are informed by the Right Honourable W. E. Forster, who knew Mr. Thurlow Weed at this time, that he was sent over as an accredited, though not an official, agent, of the United States Government, to watch over their interests, and to do his best to neutralize English sympathy with the South. Some tidings of what had been done by the Sovereign in modifying Lord John Russell's Despatch seem to have reached Mr. Weed, and in December 1874, when Mr. Forster was in New York, he was told by Mr. Weed, that the alterations had done much to preserve peace. That gentleman regarded the fact as of so much importance that, being himself unable to attend a public reception given by politicians of all parties to Mr. Forster, he wrote a letter to be read to the meeting, in which the following passage occurs:—'While you are recognising the claims of the eminent British statesman to our regard, I am sure that you will cheerfully, gratefully, and with a profound sense of obligation, remember

Seward, who was then in London, 'had been so much struck with the intensity and unanimity of feeling in this country, that he had written to Mr. Seward to advise him to yield to the British demands absolutely and immediately.'

All these considerations no doubt had their weight in determining the decision of the United States Government. But they would probably have failed to sway it into compliance with the British demands, but for the temperate and conciliatory tone in which, thanks to the Prince, the views of the Government had been conveyed. Mr. Seward told Lord Lyons, before the copy of the Despatch was placed in his hands, that 'everything depended upon the wording of it,' and begged, as a personal favour, to be allowed to read it before it was communicated to him officially. In compliance with this request, it was sent to him under a cover marked 'private and confidential.' The effect was instantaneous. 'Almost immediately afterwards,' Lord Lyons says, in a private Despatch to Lord John Russell (19th of December, 1861), 'he came here. He told me he was pleased to find that the Despatch was courteous and friendly,—not dictatorial, nor menacing.' His task of reconciling his Government to a pacific course—no easy one[5]—was thus greatly simplified, and on the 26th he announced, in an elaborate Despatch,

the action of the Queen on a question of momentous importance. When Lord Palmerston went to the Queen with a Despatch, demanding from our Government the surrender of Mason and Slidell, Her Majesty, absorbed by solicitude for the health of the Prince, had heard little of the Trent affair' [this was a mistake: every detail, both of the outrage and of the steps taken in consequence, being communicated to Her Majesty and considered by her, day by day, as usual], 'and was startled and shocked at the idea of war with America. Not liking the peremptory language and defiant speech of the Despatch, the Queen took it to the apartment of the Prince Consort, who used the pen for the last time in modifying the language and tone of the demand.' The enthusiasm which the reading of this letter excited, showed,' Mr. Forster writes, 'the American estimate of the Queen's and Prince's wise kindness at a most anxious crisis.'

[5] Congress passed a vote of thanks to Captain Wilkes. The Secretary of the Navy gave official approval of his conduct, and he was treated as a hero at numerous public meetings in the State of Massachusetts.

much of which was obviously written to reconcile the more fiery portion of the American public to the unpalatable concession, that Captain Wilkes had acted without instructions, and that the four persons taken from the *Trent* should 'be cheerfully liberated.'

This welcome intelligence reached London on the 9th of January, 1862. It was communicated the same day to the Queen (who was then at Osborne). In her reply, Her Majesty said:—'Lord Palmerston cannot but look on this peaceful issue of the American quarrel, as greatly owing to her beloved Prince, who wrote the observations upon the Draft to Lord Lyons, in which Lord Palmerston so entirely concurred. It was the last thing he ever wrote.' From Lord Palmerston's answer (12th of January) we extract the following memorable words:—

'There can be no doubt that, as your Majesty observes, the alterations made in the Despatch to Lord Lyons contributed essentially to the satisfactory settlement of the dispute. But these alterations were only one of innumerable instances of the tact and judgment, and the power of nice discrimination which excited Lord Palmerston's constant and unbounded admiration.

When the tidings of the *Trent* affair first reached the Queen, there were guests in the Palace, among them the Duc de Nemours, Lord Carlisle, and Mr. and Mrs. Gladstone. Though suffering greatly, as we have seen, the Prince was not confined to his room, and appeared among his guests as usual, his illness being regarded as of a kind which would pass off with a little care and nursing. On the night of the 28th of November, he had upon the whole slept well; and feeling himself rather better, though aching and chilly—'*noch immer recht miserable*' ('still thoroughly miserable'), are his own words,—he came down to the Walk below the South Terrace of the Castle, to see the Eton College Volunteers go through their manœuvres, and pass in review before the Queen. This

occupied about twenty minutes. The Volunteers then passed into the adjoining conservatory, where a luncheon had been prepared for them. 'As soon as they were seated,' to quote from Her Majesty's Diary, 'we went in and walked round the tables: it was a very pretty sight. Albert was well wrapped up, but looked very unwell, and could only walk very slow.' The day was close and warm; but although the Prince was wrapped in a coat lined with fur, he said, on the ground, that he felt as if cold water were being poured down his back. His absence would have created remark and apprehension, and rather than give rise to these, he went out, though conscious that he ought not to have gone. '*Ich muss leider dabei erscheinen*' ('Unhappily I must be present'), are the words of his Diary. It is the last entry in it, and, like all the entries from the 23rd onwards, it is written in a very weak hand.

Next day the same feeling of chilliness continued, and other symptoms of general derangement appeared. But towards evening the Prince felt easier, and he appeared as usual at dinner, at which several guests were present.

The following day (1st of December) was Sunday. After another indifferent night, the Prince had risen early, as already mentioned, to write the draft Memorandum for the Queen upon the *Trent* affair. The day, although cold, was fine, and he walked for half an hour on the Lower Garden Terrace. 'He went with us to chapel,' again to quote Her Majesty's Diary, 'but looked very wretched and ill. Still he insisted on going through all the kneeling. He came to luncheon, but could take nothing. Sir James Clark and Dr. Jenner came over, and were much disappointed, finding Albert so very uncomfortable . . . Albert came to our family dinner, but could eat nothing; yet he was able to talk, and even to tell stories. After dinner he sat quietly listening to Alice and Marie [Leiningen] playing, and went to bed at half-past ten, in hopes

to get to sleep. I joined him at half-past eleven, and he said he was shivering with cold, and could not sleep at all.'

After a night of shivering and sleeplessness, the Prince rose next morning at seven, and sent for Dr. Jenner, who found him suffering great discomfort and much depressed. The symptoms of what might prove to be low fever were beginning to be more marked. 'I was so anxious, so distressed,' Her Majesty notes in her Diary. 'Albert did not dress, but lay upon the sofa, and I read to him. . . . Sir James Clark arrived, and found him in much the same state, very restless and uncomfortable, sometimes lying on the sofa in his dressing-room, and then sitting up in an arm-chair in his sitting-room.' Lord Methuen and Colonel Francis Seymour, who had returned from Lisbon, where they had been sent by the Queen on a mission of condolence, arrived at the Castle. The Prince saw them, and asked for all the details of the King of Portugal's death. He said to Lord Methuen that it was well his own illness was not fever, as that, he felt sure, would be fatal to him. Lord Palmerston, the Duke of Newcastle, and Sir Allan McNab (from Canada), had arrived at the Castle as guests. The Prince was unable to take his place at dinner as usual, and showed increased disinclination for food.

Lord Palmerston had become uneasy at the symptoms of the Prince's indisposition, and expressed a wish to have another physician called in. For this Her Majesty, distressed and alarmed although she had by this time become, was by no means prepared. She appealed to Sir James Clark (3rd of December), 'who reassured her, and explained to Dr. Jenner also, that there was no cause for alarm.' His opinion was, that the illness would not turn to low fever. The suggestion of further medical advice was, therefore, abandoned for the time, especially as the Prince seemed better in the evening.

Another night of wakeful restlessness followed. A little

sleep, which the Prince had from six to eight in the morning filled the Queen with hope and thankfulness. But the distaste for food continued.[6] 'He would take nothing—hardly any broth, no rusk or bread—nothing. My anxiety is great, and I feel utterly lost, when he, to whom I confide all, is in such a listless state, and hardly smiles! . . . Sir James arrived, and was grieved to see no more improvement, but not discouraged. Albert rested in the bedroom, and liked being read to, but no book suited him, neither *Silas Marner*, nor *The Warden*.' Lever's *Dodd Family* was subsequently tried, 'but he disliked it: so we decided to have one of Sir Walter Scott's to-morrow.'

The Prince rose next morning (4th of December) at eight, after another night of discomfort, relieved only by snatches of broken sleep. On Her Majesty's return to his room from breakfast, she found him 'looking very wretched and woebegone. He could take only half a cup of tea. He afterwards came to his sitting-room, where I left him so wretched, that I was dreadfully overcome and alarmed. Alice was reading to him.' Sir James Clark, who had passed the night at the Castle, comforted Her Majesty with the hope that 'there would be no fever, of which we live in dread.' On returning from a short walk, the Queen found the Prince 'very restless, and haggard, and suffering, though at times he seemed better. I was sadly nervous with ups and downs of hope and fear. While Alice was reading *The Talisman* in the bedroom, where he was lying on the bed, he seemed in a very uncomfortable panting state, which frightened us. We sent for Dr. Jenner, who gave him something, and then Mr. Brown (of Windsor) came up, and was most kind and reassuring, and not alarmed. But Dr. Jenner said the Prince *must* eat, and that he was going to tell him so—that the illness

[6] The quotations throughout the rest of this chapter, where not otherwise marked, are from the Queen's Diary.

would be tedious, and that completely starving himself, as he had done, would not do.'

The intelligence of the death of Lady Canning at Calcutta, on the 18th of November, which reached the Queen that day, occasioned great sorrow both to Her Majesty and the Prince.

That night Dr. Jenner sat up with his patient. At eight next morning (5th of December) the Queen found the Prince sitting on the sofa in his sitting-room. 'He did not smile, or take much notice of me, but complained of his wretched condition, and asked what it could be, and how long this state of things might last. . . . His manner all along was so unlike himself, and he had sometimes such a strange wild look. I left him to get dressed, in a state of cruel anxiety, though greatly reassured by hearing that the doctors thought him better.' The Prince slept for some time, and on coming to him about noon the Queen found him 'resting on the sofa in his dressing-room, talking and seeming decidedly better. . . . Sir James Clark came over (poor Lady Clark was too ill to allow him to stay), and he also thought Albert improved.' During the day the Prince took some nourishment, with some relish. 'The pulse and tongue were better. He was weak and irritable, and unlike himself, but still better, and liking to be read to,' which was done by the Princess Alice.

In the evening the doctors reported the Prince to be decidedly better; and the Queen writes: 'I found my Albert most dear and affectionate, and quite himself, when I went in with little Beatrice, whom he kissed. He quite laughed at some of her new French verses, which I made her repeat—then he held her little hand in his for some time, and she stood looking at him. He then soon dozed off, having done so a good deal through the day, and I left, not to disturb him.' When Her Majesty returned after dinner, the Prince was being read to in his bedroom. 'Dr. Jenner was very anxious he should undress and go to bed there, but he would not, and

after Dr. Jenner left, he walked over to his dressing-room, and lay down there, saying he would have a good night.'

The Prince's anticipation was not realised. Some sleep he had, but it was much broken, and he had changed his room two or three times during the night. 'By eight he was up, and I found him,' Her Majesty writes (6th of December), 'seated in his sitting-room, looking weak and exhausted, and not better, and complaining of there being no improvement, and that he did not know what his illness could come from. I told him it was overwork, and worry. He said: "It is too much. You must speak to the Ministers!" Then he said that, when he lay awake there, he heard the little birds, and thought of those he had heard at the Rosenau in his childhood. I felt quite upset. When the doctors came in, I saw that they thought him less well and more feverish, and I went to my room, and felt as if my heart must break. . . . He only took a cup of tea while I was there, and choked very much.'

The character of the illness was now clear beyond a doubt, and the examination of the physicians also revealed unmistakable physical signs, that it was gastric or low fever. Dr. Jenner broke the intelligence to the Queen, telling her, in the kindest, clearest manner, 'that they had all along been watching their patient's state, suspecting fever, but unable to judge what it might be and how to treat him till that morning; . . . that the fever must have its course, viz. a month, dating from the beginning, which he considers to have been the day Albert went to Sandhurst, the 22nd of November, or possibly sooner; that he was not alarmed, and that there were no bad symptoms, but he could not be better until the fever left him. . . . He would tell me everything, I might be sure. Albert himself was not to know it, as he unfortunately had a horror of fever. . . . What an awful trial is this, to be deprived for so long of my guide, my support, my all!

My heart was ready to burst, but I cheered up, remembering how many people have fever. . . . Good Alice was very courageous and tried to comfort me.'

Sir James Clark had been made so hopeful by the state of the Prince the previous day, that he was surprised and disappointed, on arriving at the Castle, to find the turn the symptoms had taken. He did his best to keep up the spirits of the Queen by encouraging assurances. Already Her Majesty was beginning to feel the additional burden thrown upon her in the discharge of her daily duties by the want of the Prince's assistance. They occupied much of her time, 'but I seem to live,' is the entry (7th of December) in the Royal Diary, 'in a dreadful dream. Later in the day, my angel lay in bed, and I sat by him, watching. The tears fell fast, as I thought of the days of anxiety, even if not of alarm, which were in store for us; of the utter shipwreck of our plans and of the dreadful loss this long illness would be publicly as well as privately; and then, when I saw Sir James and Dr. Jenner, I talked over what could have caused this illness. Great worry, and far too hard work for long. That must be stopped.'

When the Prince retired for the night, 'his pulse was good. Dr. Jenner was going to sit up with him, as well as Löhlein (the Prince's valet). My poor darling, I kissed his hand and forehead. It is a terrible trial to be thus separated from him, and to see him in the hands of others, careful and devoted though they are.'

The next day (8th of December) the Prince was considered by the doctors to be going on well. The day was very fine: his window was open, when the Queen came to him in the morning; and he expressed a strong desire to move into one of the larger rooms. Those immediately adjoining were now vacant, and his wish was carried into effect. 'When I returned from breakfast,' the Queen writes, 'I found him lying

on the bed in the Blue Room,[7] and much pleased. The sun was shining brightly, the room was fine, large, and cheerful, and he said: "It is so fine!" For the first time since his illness, he asked for some music, and said, "I should like to hear a fine chorale played at a distance." We had a piano brought into the next room, and Alice played, "*Ein' feste Burg ist unser Gott*," and another, and he listened, looking upwards with such a sweet expression, and with tears in his eyes. He then said, "*Das reicht hin*" ("That is enough").' It was Sunday. The Rev. Charles Kingsley preached, 'but I heard nothing,' are the Queen's significant words.

The listlessness and the irritability, so foreign to the Prince's nature, but so characteristic of his disease, continued; and at times his mind would wander. But when, later in the day, the Queen read *Peveril of the Peak* to him, he followed the story with interest, and by his occasional remarks showed that he did so. When Her Majesty returned to him after dinner, she records with a touching simplicity, 'He was so pleased to see me—stroked my face, and smiled, and called me "*liebes Frauchen*" ("dear little wife") . . . Precious love! His tenderness this evening, when he held my hands, and stroked my face, touched me so much—made me so grateful.'

The illness of the Prince had by this time become too serious to be longer concealed from the public. Several guests had been invited for the 7th, but the invitations had been countermanded; and the papers of Monday the 9th spoke of 'increased feverish symptoms,' and of an illness 'likely to continue' for some time.' Lord Palmerston, himself laid

[7] In this room the Prince died. On the 7th he had asked to go to what were known as the King's Rooms, of which the Blue Room was one, two apartments which immediately adjoined the room in which he had slept for some days, as they were larger and brighter than his own.

up with a severe attack of gout, was in constant communication with Sir Charles Phipps, and so seriously alarmed, that he was urgent that further medical advice should be called in, as well for the Queen's sake as 'to satisfy the just expectations of the public.' Similar views were pressed by Lord John Russell, Sir George Cornewall Lewis, and other friends to whom the nature of the Prince's malady was known, all speaking, like the Duke of Newcastle, of 'the importance to the nation of the Prince's life,' as the reason for their urgency.

Sir James Clark and Dr. Jenner were too conscious of their responsibility to the Sovereign and to the nation, not to be equally desirous of assistance from the ablest men of their profession. They selected Dr. (now Sir Thomas) Watson and Sir Henry Holland. It was arranged that Dr. Watson should see the Prince upon the 9th, and the Prince, greatly to the Queen's relief, expressed his entire concurrence in the arrangement. After their interview, the Prince spoke of him to the Queen as 'quite the right man.' The tendency to wander in his mind had increased. But the doctors assured the Queen that 'this was of no moment, though very distressing.' 'He was so kind,' adds the Queen, 'calling me "*gutes Weibchen*" ("good little wife") and liking me to hold his dear hand. Oh, it is an anxious, anxious time, but God will help us through it. . . . The doctors were satisfied.'

Lord Palmerston was well pleased to learn that Dr. Watson had been called in, but he still did not think this sufficient. In replying to Sir Charles Phipps's letter, reporting the Prince's condition the previous day, he wrote to him (10th of December) as follows:—

'My dear Phipps—Many thanks for your letter of this morning and the account it gives, which is good—inasmuch as it is not bad. But I wish you would say from me to Sir James Clark and Doctor Watson, that it is possible that Doctor Watson may wish to share his responsibility with some other eminent medical man

not yet called in; and it seems to me, that in such case Doctor Watson ought to be allowed to choose freely his coadjutor.

'If such arrangement should be made, the Prince ought not to be worried by the personal visits of a greater number than he has hitherto had, and he ought to see only Sir James Clark, Doctor Watson, and the other person named by Doctor Watson.

'This is a matter of the most momentous national importance, and all considerations of personal feeling and susceptibilities must absolutely give way to the public interest.'

By this time the alarm had spread to other Ministers, to whom the Prince was best known. They all wrote to Sir Charles Phipps in the deepest anxiety. The feeling which pervades their letters may be gathered from what Lord Granville says in a note to him:—'If there is any important change, I dare say you would write me one line without preface or signature. This sort of doubt makes one feel how deeply attached one is to the Prince, and how invaluable his life is.'

The day this note was written (10th of December) the Prince's condition presented a more hopeful appearance. He had passed a tolerably quiet night. The pulse was good, and Sir James Clark thought that everything so far was satisfactory. The mind occasionally wandered, but not more than was to be expected. It was thought desirable to give the Prince some change, and he was wheeled upon a sofa into the adjoining room. 'Going through the door,' the Queen writes, 'he turned to look at the beautiful picture on china of the Madonna, which he gave me three years ago, and asked to stop and look at it, ever loving what is beautiful.'[8] When the Queen returned to him after a short absence, she 'found him a little excited about his letters, which Dr. Jenner asked him if I might open (they were about Alfred and Leopold), as

[8] This was a copy on porcelain of the Madonna and Child by Raphael, known as the 'Colonna Madonna,' formerly in the Colonna Palace at Rome, and now in the Museum at Berlin.

yesterday, when I asked, he said "No," and feared they contained bad news. But I soon quieted him, and by his desire read them to him. . . . After luncheon I went again, when he asked me to read out of Varnhagen von Ense's *Memoirs*, and I remained with him by his desire till twenty minutes to four. The doctors were much pleased with his state.'

In the evening Dr. Watson came. He was much struck with the Prince's improvement, and Dr. Jenner considered the last twenty-four hours a positive gain. 'Dear Albert,' the Queen writes, 'was still very confused, but everything else was very satisfactory. He was very kind and affectionate, when I went to wish him good-night, stroking my face, and I kissed him.'

The next morning (11th of December) the Queen records: 'Another good night, for which I thank and bless God. . . . I went over at eight, and found Albert sitting up to take his beef-tea, over which he always laments most bitterly. I supported him, and he laid his dear head (his beautiful face, more beautiful than ever, is grown so thin) on my shoulder, and remained a little while, saying, "It is very comfortable so, dear child!" which made me so happy.' As he was being assisted by the Queen from his bed to the sofa, he paused to look at his favourite picture, and said, 'It helps me through half the day!'

When the Queen returned a short time afterwards he was lying on the sofa, and seemed rapt in abstraction. The day passed on the whole satisfactorily. Dr. Watson, Sir James Clark, and Dr. Jenner considered the symptoms as upon the whole not unfavourable. They had, however, deemed it advisable to call in the assistance of Sir Henry Holland, who saw the Prince that day. As the result of their deliberations, it was deemed expedient to make the public aware by a bulletin, that the Prince was seriously ill, without, however, creating apprehensions of any imminent danger.

During the evening, however, a slight change in the Prince's breathing became perceptible, which naturally excited some uneasiness. The Queen passed the greater part of the day with the Prince, occasionally reading to him, and he showed an obvious reluctance to being left by Her Majesty even for the short intervals when her attendance was required elsewhere.

Next day (Thursday the 12th of December) the fever had increased, and the shortness in breathing became more marked as the day advanced. The listlessness and impatience were more marked, and the mind seemed upon occasion to be less under control. But at other times it was clear and active as ever. During the evening he said to the Queen, 'You have not forgotten the important communication to Nemours?' And upon Her Majesty asking which he meant, he said, 'The one Lord Palmerston told you to make to him about his nephews.' This was, that the two French Princes, the Count of Paris and the Duke of Chartres, ought not to remain in the American army, if there should be a war with England.

The anxiety of Lord Palmerston had increased as the days went on. He was kept constantly informed of every phase of the Prince's illness, and on the 12th of December he wrote no fewer than three letters on the subject to Sir Charles Phipps. The two first were full of hope and encouragement; but the third shows that Sir Charles Phipps had felt compelled by the symptoms, which had set in at the later part of the day, to prepare him for the worst:—

'My dear Phipps,' he wrote—'Your telegram and letter have come upon me like a thunderbolt. I know that the disorder is one liable to sudden and unfavourable turns, but I had hoped that it was going on without cause for special apprehension.

'The result which your accounts compel me to look forward to as at least possible, is in all its bearings too awful to contemplate. One can only hope that Providence may yet spare us so overwhelming a calamity.'

No change for the better was perceptible. Next day (Friday the 13th of December) the breathing had become quicker and more difficult, and Dr. Jenner had no alternative but to make the Queen aware that this symptom might be serious, and lead to congestion of the lungs. The critical condition of the Prince was also made known to the members of the Royal Household. It was noticed by the Queen that when the Prince was wheeled in as usual from his bedroom to the room in which he passed the day, that, for the first time, he took no notice of his favourite picture, and would not be turned, as he had previously been, with his back to the light, but remained, with his hands clasped, looking silently out of the window at the sky. When the Queen came in from a short walk in the afternoon, she found that there had been a sudden and alarming sinking. But towards evening the Prince rallied. The pulse improved, and he became for a time so much like his former self, so affectionate and gentle, that a gleam of hope and comfort was kindled for a time in the heart of the almost despairing Queen. All through the night cheering reports were brought to Her Majesty almost every hour.

About six in the morning (Saturday the 14th of December) Mr. Brown, of Windsor (who had attended the Royal Family medically since 1838, and was thoroughly acquainted with the Prince's constitution[9]), came to inform Her Majesty that he had no hesitation in saying that he thought the Prince was much better, and that 'there was ground to hope the crisis was over.'[10] 'I went over at seven,' Her Majesty writes, 'as

[9] Mr. Brown died in 1838, much regretted by the Queen and all the Royal Family.

[10] Encouraged by the favourable symptoms, Sir Charles Phipps had written to relieve Lord Palmerston's anxiety:—'A thousand thanks for your telegram and letter,' was Lord Palmerston's reply. 'The former came like a ray of sunshine through the gloom of despair. I sent it round immediately to the Duke of Cambridge, Granville, Somerset, Newcastle, Lewis, and G. Grey.' The same day (14th of December) Lord Clarendon wrote from 'The Grove' to

I usually did. It was a bright morning, the sun just rising and shining brightly. The room had the sad look of night-watching, the candles burnt down to their sockets, the doctors looking anxious. I went in, and never can I forget how beautiful my darling looked, lying there with his face lit up by the rising sun, his eyes unusually bright, gazing as it were on unseen objects, and not taking notice of me.'

The Prince of Wales, who had been summoned from Maddingley by telegram the previous evening, had arrived at three o'clock that morning. Sir Henry Holland saw him on his arrival, and made him aware of his father's state. When Her Majesty returned to the Prince Consort's bedroom, about ten o'clock, she found the young Prince there. Both Sir James Clark and Dr. Jenner endeavoured to reassure the Queen. There had been 'a decided rally,' but they were all 'very, very anxious.' The hours wore on in agonising alternations of fear and hope.

'The day,' Her Majesty writes, 'was very fine and very bright. I asked whether I might go out for a breath of air. The doctors answered "Yes, just close by, for a quarter of an hour." At about twelve I went out upon the Terrace with Alice. The military band was playing at a distance, and I burst into tears and came home again. I hurried over at once. Dr. Watson was in the room. I asked him whether Albert was not better, as he seemed stronger, though he took very little notice, and he answered, "We are very much frightened, but don't, and won't give up hope." They would not let Albert sit up to take his nourishment, as he wasted his strength by doing so. "The pulse keeps up," they said. "It is not worse." Every hour, every minute was a gain; and Sir James Clark was very hopeful—he had seen much worse

Sir C. Phipps:—'I am so utterly miserable at all I heard yesterday in London, that I must beg for one line—no more—to say if you have any hope. I quite shudder at the thought of all that may be in store for the dear Queen.'

cases. But the breathing was the alarming thing, it was so rapid. There was what they call a dusky hue about his face and hands, which I knew was not good. I made some observation about it to Dr. Jenner, and was alarmed by seeing he seemed to notice it. Albert folded his arms, and began arranging his hair, just as he used to do when well and he was dressing. These were said to be bad signs. Strange! as though he were preparing for another and greater journey.'

The Queen's distress was terrible. She only left the Prince's room for the adjoining one. Still the doctors continued to comfort her with hope, but they could not blind her to the signs, that this precious life, this most precious of lives to her, was ebbing away. 'About half-past five,' Her Majesty writes, 'I went in and sat down beside his bed, which had been wheeled towards the middle of the room. "*Gutes Frauchen*," he said, and kissed me, and then gave a sort of piteous moan, or rather sigh, not of pain, but as if he felt that he was leaving me, and laid his head upon my shoulder, and I put my arm under his. But the feeling passed away again, and he seemed to wander and to doze, and yet to know all. Sometimes I could not catch what he said. Occasionally he spoke French. Alice came in and kissed him, and he took her hand. Bertie, Helena, Louise, and Arthur came in, one after the other, and took his hand, and Arthur kissed it. But he was dozing, and did not perceive them. Then he opened his dear eyes, and asked for Sir Charles Phipps, who came in and kissed his hand, but then again his dear eyes were closed. General Grey and Sir Thomas Biddulph each came in and kissed his hand, and were dreadfully overcome. It was a terrible moment, but, thank God! I was able to command myself, and to be perfectly calm, and remained sitting by his side.

'So things went on, not really worse, but not better. It

was thought necessary to change his bed, and he was even able to get out of bed and sit up. He tried to get into bed alone, but could not, and Löhlein [11] and one of the pages of the back stairs helped to place him on the other bed. The digestion was perfect; but when I observed to Dr. Jenner, that this was surely a good sign, he said "Alas! with such breathing it is of no avail!" The doctors said plenty of air passed through the lungs, and so long as this was so, there was still hope.'

The Queen had retired for a little to the adjoining room, but hearing the Prince's breathing become worse, she returned to the sick chamber. She found the Prince bathed in perspiration, which the doctors said might be an effort of nature to throw off the fever. Bending over him she whispered, '*Es ist kleines Frauchen!*' (''Tis your own little wife!') and he bowed his head and kissed her. At this time he seemed half dozing, quite calm, and only wishing to be left quiet and undisturbed, 'as he used to be when tired and not well.'

Again, as the evening advanced, Her Majesty retired to give way to her grief in the adjoining room. She had not long been gone, when a rapid change set in, and the Princess Alice was requested by Sir James Clark to ask Her Majesty to return. The import of the summons was too plain. When the Queen entered, she took the Prince's left hand, 'which was already cold, though the breathing was quite gentle,' and knelt down by his side. On the other side of the bed was the Princess Alice, while at its foot knelt the Prince of Wales and the Princess Helena. Not far from the foot of the bed were Prince Ernest Leiningen, the physicians, and the Prince's valet Löhlein. General the Hon. Robert Bruce knelt opposite to the Queen, and the

[11] A native of Coburg, who had been with the Prince since 1847.

Dean of Windsor, Sir Charles Phipps, and General Grey, were also in the room.

In the solemn hush of that mournful chamber there was such grief as has rarely hallowed any deathbed. A great light, which had blessed the world, and which the mourners had but yesterday hoped might long bless it, was waning fast away. A husband, a father, a friend, a master, endeared by every quality by which man in such relations can win the love of his fellow-man, was passing into the Silent Land, and his loving glance, his wise counsels, his firm manly thought should be known among them no more. The Castle clock chimed the third quarter after ten. Calm and peaceful grew the beloved form; the features settled into the beauty of a perfectly serene repose; two or three long, but gentle, breaths were drawn; and that great soul had fled, to seek a nobler scope for its aspirations in the world within the veil, for which it had often yearned, where there is rest for the weary, and where 'the spirits of the just are made perfect.'

## CONCLUDING REMARKS.

THE grief that filled the Palace spread quickly through the land. It saddened every home, it penetrated through every rank of life, from the highest to the humblest. There were none of imagination so dead, of heart so cold, as not to feel what that Royal home had lost—above all, what the widowed Queen had lost, whom they had seen, through long years of all but unbroken happiness, leaning upon the love and ever-present guidance of him, who was so suddenly snatched from her side. The blow had fallen in an hour of peril to her land. It had struck her as a woman and as a queen. Her sorrow was the sorrow of her people, and, in their case, it was a sorrow not unmingled with remorse. So it was, that if ever a nation's prayers for a sovereign were offered up from its heart of hearts, such were the prayers that were offered up on that sad Sunday, when the tidings were flashed from town to town of the bereavement that doomed her henceforth to shine 'a lonely splendour,' the brilliancy of whose reign had hitherto received a double lustre from companionship with that star of honour and of worth which had so suddenly been quenched in night.

Soon the country learned that the influence of a character so wedded to duty as that of the Prince had survived to animate the Sovereign, and to reconcile her to a life which his example

had confirmed her in regarding as a sacred trust for her family and her people. The healing influence of time could alone staunch the 'natural tears' for a loss so great. But all were eager to minister such present consolation to the wounded spirit as could be derived from the assurance of general sympathy, and from a recognition all but universal of the merits of one, who, as the reader of these volumes must have seen, sacrificed his life in the too eager desire to benefit his adopted country and mankind.

Years, not many, have gone by: the grief of those who loved him has been purged of well-nigh all its pain. 'Harsh grief doth pass in time into far music!' They can think of him calmly now, as having fought the good fight; as having, through the crowded years of a life charged with the gravest responsibilities, 'wrought upon the plan that pleased his childish thought;' as having lived, not for himself, but for others: they can think of him as one who was ever 'unwearied in well-doing,' and who thus approved himself a true follower of the Founder of the Christian faith, which he had striven by his life to illustrate.

With kindred feelings he is thought of by those who know him only by his actions, and by such partial revelations of his opinions as have been published to the world. They mourn him not. Rather do they think of him as happy in dying when he did, in the fulness of his manhood and of his intellectual vigour, blest in having been enabled to work to the last for the advancement of human liberty and human good, and in leaving behind him a heritage of unspotted renown.

> Peace, peace! He is not dead, he doth not sleep!
> He hath awakened from the dream of life!
> . . . . . .
> He has out-soared the shadow of our Night.
> Envy and calumny, and hate and pain,

And that unrest, which men miscall delight,
Can touch him not, and torture not again.
From the contagion of the world's slow stain
He is secure; and now can never mourn
A heart grown cold, a head grown grey in vain—
Nor, when the spirit's self has ceased to burn,
With sparkless ashes load an unlamented urn.

# APPENDIX

# APPENDIX.

## I. *Ceremonial observed at the Funeral of* H.R.H. *the* PRINCE CONSORT, *December* 23, 1861.

ON the morning of MONDAY, December 23, 1861, The Remains of FIELD-MARSHAL HIS LATE ROYAL HIGHNESS THE PRINCE CONSORT, Husband of Her Most Excellent Majesty, Duke of Saxony, and Prince of Saxe-Coburg and Gotha, Knight of the Most Noble Order of the Garter, were removed from Windsor Castle, and temporarily deposited in the entrance to the Royal Vault in St. George's Chapel, where they were to remain until the completion and consecration of a Mausoleum to be afterwards erected.

A Guard of Honour of the Grenadier Guards, of which Regiment His late Royal Highness was Colonel, mounted at the entrance to the State Apartments of Windsor Castle.

Shortly before Twelve o'clock, those appointed to take part in the procession from the Castle to the Chapel, having assembled in the Guard Room, the removal of The Remains of His late Royal Highness was conducted from the State Entrance of Windsor Castle through the Norman Tower Gate to St. George's Chapel, in the following order:—

A Mourning Coach, drawn by Four Horses, conveying Two Valets and Two Jägers of His late Royal Highness, viz.: Mr. Löhlein, Mr. Mayet, Mr. E. S. Cowley, Mr. C. Robertson.

A Mourning Coach, drawn by Four Horses, conveying Mr. Rulandt, Librarian, Mr. Meyer, Gentleman Rider, Mr. White, Solicitor to His late Royal Highness, and Dr. Robertson, Commissioner at Balmoral.

A Mourning Coach, drawn by Four Horses, conveying Sir James Clark, Bart., M D., Sir Henry Holland, Bart., and Dr. Watson, M.D., the Physicians who were in attendance upon His late Royal Highness.

A Mourning Coach, drawn by Four Horses, conveying Colonel The Hon. Alexander Gordon, C.B., Equerry to His late Royal Highness, Major Teesdale, C.B., V.C., Equerry to His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales, Colonel the Hon. James Macdonald, C.B., Equerry to His Royal Highness The Duke of Cambridge, and Colonel Home Purves, Comptroller and Equerry to Her Royal Highness the Duchess of Cambridge.

A Mourning Coach, drawn by Four Horses, conveying Colonel The Hon. A. Hardinge, C.B., and Colonel H. F. Ponsonby, Equerries to His late Royal Highness, and Rear-Admiral Blake, and Major-General Charles W. Ridley, C.B., Gentlemen Ushers to His late Royal Highness.

A Mourning Coach, drawn by Four Horses, conveying The Lord Camoys, the Lord in Waiting to The Queen, and Lieut.-General Sir Henry Bentinck, K.C.B., the Groom in Waiting to The Queen, Colonel Lord Alfred Paget, Clerk Marshal, and Colonel Biddulph, the Master of the Household.

A Mourning Coach, drawn by Four Horses, conveying Four of the Supporters of the Pall of His late Royal Highness, viz.:— Major-General Wylde, C.B., and Colonel Francis Seymour, C.B., Grooms of the Bedchamber, and Lieut.-Col. The Hon. Dudley de Ros, and Major C. T. Du Plat, Equerries to His late Royal Highness.

A Mourning Coach, drawn by Four Horses, conveying Four of the Supporters of the Pall of His late Royal Highness, viz.:— Lord Waterpark, Lord of the Bedchamber, Col. The Hon.

Alexander Nelson Hood, Clerk Marshal, Col. The Hon. Sir Chas. B. Phipps, K.C.B., Treasurer, and Lieut.-Gen. The Hon. Charles Grey, Private Secretary, to His late Royal Highness.

A Mourning Coach, drawn by Four Horses, conveying the Three Great Officers of Her Majesty's Household, The Lord Steward, The Lord Chamberlain, and The Master of the Horse.

A Carriage of the Queen's Most Excellent Majesty, drawn by Six Horses, The Servants in State Liveries, conveying the Crown of His late Royal Highness, borne by the Earl Spencer, Groom of the Stole to His late Royal Highness; and the Baton, Sword, and Hat of His late Royal Highness, borne by Lieut.-Col. Lord George Lennox, Lord of the Bedchamber to His late Royal Highness.

THE HEARSE,

adorned with Escocheons of His late Royal Highness's Arms,

Drawn by Six Horses, and attended by an Escort of the Second Regiment of Life Guards.

A Carriage of The Queen's Most Excellent Majesty; drawn by Six Horses; the Servants in State Liveries.

A Carriage of His Royal Highness The Prince of Wales, drawn by Six Horses; the Servants in State Liveries.

A Carriage of His Royal Highness the Duke of Cambridge, drawn by Six Horses; the Servants in State Liveries.

A Carriage of Her Royal Highness The Duchess of Cambridge, drawn by Six Horses; the Servants in State Liveries.

The Line of Procession was kept by the Second Regiment of Life Guards, dismounted, and by the First Battalion of the Regiment of Scots Fusilier Guards, with reversed arms.

At Half-past Eleven o'Clock, those who had the honour to receive The Queen's Commands to attend the Ceremony, but who did not take part in the Procession, were admitted to St. George's Chapel, by Wolsey's Chapel, and were at once conducted

to Seats in the Choir, the Knights of the Garter present occupying their Stalls.

At Twelve o'Clock, The Royal Family and other Royal Personages who had arrived privately from the Castle assembled in the Chapter Room of St. George's Chapel, from which they were conducted to their Places in the Procession by the Lord Chamberlain, assisted by the Vice Chamberlain.

The remainder of those appointed to form part of the Procession within the Chapel, having previously assembled in Wolsey's Chapel, were conducted to the Nave, and upon the arrival of The Body at the South Porch, the Procession was formed, and moved up the Nave into the Choir in the following order:—

Valets of His late Royal Highness.

Mr. Löhlein. Mr. Mayet.

Jägers of His late Royal Highness.

Mr. E. S. Cowley. Mr. Charles Robertson.

Bailiffs of His late Royal Highness's Farms.

Mr. Brebner. Mr. Tait.
Mr. Graham. Mr. Toward.

Librarian to His late Royal Highness.
Mr. Rulandt.

Solicitor to His late Royal Highness.
Mr. White.

Gentleman Rider to His late Royal Highness.
Mr. Meyer.

Commissioner at Balmoral.
Dr. Robertson.

Apothecary to His late Royal Highness.
Mr. C. Dupasquier.

Apothecary to the Household at Windsor, who was in attendance on His late Royal Highness.
Mr. Henry Brown.

Surgeons to His late Royal Highness.

Surgeon-Major W. H. Judd. Mr. James M. Arnott.
Mr. W. Fergusson.

Physicians who were in Attendance on His late Royal Highness.

Dr. Watson, Physician Extraordinary to the Queen.

Sir James Clark, Bart., M.D.,
Sir Henry Holland, Bart., M.D., } Physicians to His late Royal Highness, and Physicians in Ordinary to the Queen.

Chaplains to His late Royal Highness.

The Rev. Professor Lightfoot, M.A.
The Rev. Professor A. P. Stanley, D.D.
The Very Rev. the Dean of Christchurch, Dr. Liddell.

The Representative of His Royal Highness The Grand Duke of Mecklenburg-Strelitz.

The Baron von Boddien, Grand Chamberlain.

The Representative of His Majesty the King of the Belgians.

Lieut.-Gen. the Hon. Sir Edward Cust, K.C.H.

The Representative of His Majesty the King of Hanover.

General the Baron von Hammerstein, attended by his Aide-de-Camp, Captain Töbing.

The Representative of His Majesty the King of Saxony.

Mons. de Seebach.

The Comptroller and Equerry to Her Royal Highness The Duchess of Cambridge.

Lieutenant-Colonel Home Purves.

The Equerry to His Royal Highness The Duke of Cambridge.

Colonel The Hon. James Macdonald, C.B.

The Equerry to His Royal Highness The Prince of Wales.

Major Teesdale, C.B., V.C.

The Gentlemen Ushers to His late Royal Highness.

Rear-Admiral Blake. Major-Gen. C. W. Ridley, C.B.

Equerries to His late Royal Highness.

Colonel H. F. Ponsonby. Colonel Hon. A. Hardinge, C.B
Colonel Hon. A. Gordon, C.B.

The Master of the Household to The Queen.
Colonel Biddulph.

The Equerry in Waiting to The Queen.
Colonel The Lord Alfred Paget, Clerk Marshal.

The Groom in Waiting to The Queen.
Lieut.-General Sir Henry Bentinck, K.C.B.

The Lord in Waiting to The Queen.
The Lord Camoys.

The Lord Steward.
The Earl of St. Germans, G.C.B.

The Master of The Horse.
The Marquis of Ailesbury.

The Choir of Windsor.

The Canons of Windsor.

The Hon. and Rev. E. Moore.
The Rev. F. Anson.

The Rev. Lord Wriothesley Russell, Chaplain to His late Royal Highness.
The Hon. and Rev. C. L. Courtenay.

The Dean of Windsor.
The Hon. and Very Reverend Gerald Wellesley, D.D.

THE BATON, SWORD, AND HAT

Of His late Royal Highness, borne upon a Black Velvet Cushion, by Lieut.-Col. Lord George Lennox, Lord of the Bedchamber to His late Royal Highness.

THE CROWN

Of His late Royal Highness, borne upon a Black Velvet Cushion, by The Earl Spencer, Groom of the Stole to His late Royal Highness.

The Comptroller in the Lord Chamberlain's Department.
Hon. Spencer Ponsonby.

The Vice Chamberlain of Her Majesty's Household.
The Viscount Castlerosse.

The Lord Chamberlain of Her Majesty's Household.
The Viscount Sydney.

| Supporters of the Pall. | | Supporters of the Pall. |
|---|---|---|
| Col. The Hon. Sir Charles B. Phipps, K.C.B., Treasurer to His late Royal Highness. | | Lord Waterpark, Lord of the Bedchamber to His late Royal Highness. |
| Lieut-General the Hon. C. Grey, Private Secretary to His late Royal Highness. | THE | Col. the Hon. A. N. Hood, Clerk Marshal to His late Royal Highness. |
| Major-General Wylde, C.B., Groom of the Bedchamber to His late Royal Highness. | ROYAL | Lt.-Col. Hon. Dudley de Ros, Equerry to His late Royal Highness. |
| Colonel Francis Seymour, C.B., Groom of the Bedchamber to His late Royal Highness. | COFFIN. | Major C. T. Du Plat, R.A., Equerry to His late Royal Highness. |

Garter King of Arms.
Sir Charles Young.

## The Chief Mourner.

HIS ROYAL HIGHNESS THE PRINCE OF WALES,

supported by

His Royal Highness Prince Arthur,

and by

His Royal Highness The Duke of Saxe-Coburg and Gotha,

and attended by

Major-General The Hon. Robert Bruce.

His Royal Highness the Crown Prince of Prussia.
His Royal Highness The Duke de Brabant.
His Royal Highness The Count de Flandres.

His Royal Highness The Duke de Nemours.

His Grand Ducal Highness Prince Louis of Hesse.

His Serene Highness Prince Edward of Saxe-Weimar.

The Count Gleichen.

His Highness the Maharajah Dhuleep Singh.

| The Equerries to His Royal Highness The Prince of Wales. | Governor to His Royal Highness Prince Arthur. |
|---|---|
| Captain G. H. Grey. | Major Elphinstone, V.C. |
| Lieut.-Col. F. C. Keppel. | |

The Gentlemen in Waiting on His Royal Highness The Crown Prince of Prussia.

Lieutenant-General The Baron Moltke.

Chamberlain The Count Fürstenstein.

Lieutenant-Colonel von Obernitz.

Captain de Lucadou.

The Gentlemen in Waiting on His Royal Highness The Duke of Saxe-Coburg and Gotha.

Major von Reutern. The Councillor Samwer.

The Gentleman in Waiting on His Royal Highness The Duke de Brabant.

The Count de Lannoy.

The Gentleman in Waiting on His Royal Highness The Count de Flandres.

Major Burnell.

The Gentleman in Waiting on His Royal Highness The Duke de Nemours.

General The Count de Chabannes.

The Gentleman in Waiting on His Grand Ducal Highness The Prince Louis of Hesse.

The Baron Westerweller.

The Gentleman in Waiting on His Highness The Maharajah Dhuleep Singh.

Colonel Oliphant.

Upon arrival within the Choir, the Crown, and the Baton, Sword, and Hat of His late Royal Highness were placed by the Bearers upon the Coffin. His Royal Highness the Chief Mourner stood at the head of The Corpse, with His Royal Highness Prince Arthur and His Royal Highness The Duke of Saxe-Coburg and Gotha on either side. The other Royal Personages stood behind His Royal Highness The Chief Mourner, and their Attendants near them.

The supporters of the Pall were placed on either side of the Coffin.

The Lord Chamberlain stood at the foot of the Coffin.

The rest of the Procession, having previously advanced towards the centre of the Choir, stood on either side.

The opening sentences of the Burial Service were sung by the Choir, to the Music by Dr. Croft, while the Procession moved up the Nave; after which the 39th Psalm was chanted to the Funeral Chant adapted from Beethoven.

The first part of the Service and the Anthem (Martin Luther's Hymn) having been performed, The Corpse was lowered into the Entrance of the Royal Vault, and the Dean concluded the Burial Service, in the course of which also two Chorales were sung by the Choir.

Garter King of Arms having proclaimed the Style of His late Royal Highness, The Royal Family and other Royal Personages were conducted out of the Chapel, and the others composing the Procession retired, while the Dead March in *Saul* was played.

A Guard of Honour of the Grenadier Guards, of which Regiment His late Royal Highness was Colonel, mounted during the Ceremony at the entrance to St. George's Chapel, and presented Arms on the arrival of the Remains of His late Royal Highness, and also when the Body was lowered into the Grave. A Troop of the Royal Horse Artillery was stationed in the Long

Walk in Windsor Park, and fired Minute-guns during the progress of the Procession and the Ceremony.

The following, who had the honour to receive The Queen's Commands to attend the Funeral of His late Royal Highness, were conducted to Seats in the Choir of St. George's Chapel:—

| | |
|---|---|
| Mons. Van de Weyer . . . | The Belgian Minister. |
| The Count de Lavradio . . . | The Portuguese Minister. |
| The Count Brandenburg . . . | The Prussian Chargé d'Affaires. |

OFFICERS OF STATE.

| | |
|---|---|
| The Lord Westbury . . . | Lord High Chancellor. |
| The Earl Granville, K.G. . . | Lord President of the Council. |
| The Right Hon. Sir George Grey, Bart., M.P., G.C.B. . . | Secretary of State for the Home Department. |
| The Earl Russell . . . | Secretary of State for the Foreign Department. |
| The Duke of Newcastle, K.G. . | Secretary of State for the Colonial Department. |
| The Right Hon. Sir George Cornewall Lewis, Bart., M.P. | Secretary of State for the War Department. |
| The Right Hon. Sir Charles Wood, Bart., M.P., G.C.B. . | Secretary of State for the Indian Department. |
| The Right Hon. W. E. Gladstone, M.P. . . . . | Chancellor of the Exchequer. |
| The Duke of Somerset . . | First Lord of the Admiralty. |
| The Lord Stanley of Alderley . | Postmaster-General. |
| The Right Hon. Edward Cardwell, M.P. . . . . | Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster. |
| The Right Hon. Thomas Milner Gibson, M.P. . . . | President of the Board of Trade. |
| The Right Hon. C. Pelham Villiers, M.P. . . . | Chief Commissioner of the Poor Law Board. |
| The Earl of Carlisle, K.G. . | Lord Lieutenant of Ireland. |

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|---|---|
| The Right Hon. William Cowper | First Commissioner of Works, &c. |
| The Hon. Charles A. Gore . | First Commissioner of Woods. |

OFFICERS OF THE QUEEN'S HOUSEHOLD.

| | |
|---|---|
| The Viscount Bury . . . | The Treasurer of the Household. |
| The Lord Proby . . . | The Comptroller of the Household. |
| The Earl of Caithness . . | Lords in Waiting. |
| The Viscount Torrington . | |
| The Lord Rivers . . . | |
| The Lord de Tabley . . | |
| The Lord Cremorne, K.P. . | |
| The Lord Harris, K.S.I. . | |
| The Lord Methuen . . | |
| The Hon. Mortimer Sackville West . . . . . | Grooms in Waiting. |
| Colonel the Hon. G. Aug. Liddell . . . . | |
| Colonel The Lord James Murray | Extra Grooms in Waiting. |
| General Sir Frederick Stovin, G.C.B. . . . . | |
| Lieut.-Colonel The Lord Augustus Charles L. Fitzroy . | Equerries. |
| Major-General Seymour . | |
| Lieut-Colonel G. A. Maude, C.B. | Crown Equerry. |
| Mr. Woodward . . . | Librarian. |

OTHER INVITATIONS.

The Archbishop of Canterbury.
The Duke of Buccleuch, K.G.
The Duke of Athole, K.T. (The Duchess being Lady of the Bedchamber in Waiting upon Her Majesty).
The Duke of Rutland, } Formerly Lords of the Bedchamber
The Duke of Manchester, } to His late Royal Highness.
The Duke of Wellington, K.G. (The Duchess being Mistress of the Robes).

The Marquis of Abercorn, K.G.
The Marquis of Exeter, K.G.,
The Lord Ebury,
} Formerly Grooms of the Stole to His late Royal Highness.

The Marquis of Breadalbane, K.T.

The Earl of Derby, K.G.

The Earl De la Warr.

The Earl of Clarendon, K.G., G.C.B.

His Excellency The Earl Cowley, G.C.B.

The Lord Bagot, formerly Lord of the Bedchamber to His late Royal Highness.

The Lord Bishop of London, Dean of Her Majesty's Chapels Royal.

The Lord Bishop of Oxford,
The Lord Bishop of Chester,
The Lord Bishop of Worcester,
} Formerly Chaplains to His late Royal Highness.

The Lord Colville, of Culross, Lieut.-Colonel Commanding the Honourable Artillery Company, of which His late Royal Highness was Colonel and Captain-General.

The Lord Portman.

The Right Hon. Speaker of the House of Commons.

Lieut-General Sir George Bowles, K.C.B.

Lieut.-General Bouverie, formerly Equerry to His late Royal Highness.

Colonel Lambert, Commanding the Grenadier Guards, of which Regiment His late Royal Highness was Colonel.

The Rev. James St. John Blunt, Vicar of Old Windsor.

The Rev. H. M. Ellison, The Vicar of Windsor.

The Rev. H. M. Birch,
Mr. Gibbs, C.B.,
} Formerly Tutors to His Royal Highness The Prince of Wales.

Dr. Lyon Playfair, C.B., Formerly Gentleman Usher to His late Royal Highness.

Mr. Becker, Formerly Librarian to His late Royal Highness.

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His Royal Highness The Duke of Cambridge, and His Serene Highness The Prince of Leiningen, were prevented by illness from attending the Ceremony.

The following, who were to have joined in the Procession, were also unavoidably absent.

Dr. Jenner, one of the Physicians who attended upon His late Royal Highness, in attendance upon the Queen at Osborne.

Sir Benjamin Brodie, Bart., Surgeon to His late Royal Highness.

Don Manoel da Camara,
Lieut. A. de Sampayo e Pina, } Representatives of His Majesty The King of Portugal, who did not arrive in this Country until after the Ceremony.

Colonel Tyrwhitt, Equerry in Waiting to His Royal Highness The Duke of Cambridge.

The following had the honour to receive The Queen's Commands to attend, but were likewise unable to do so:—

The Count Kielmansegge . The Hanoverian Minister.
The Count Vitzthum . . The Saxon Minister.

The Viscount Palmerston, K.G., G.C.B. . . . . First Lord of the Treasury.
The Duke of Argyll, K.T. . Lord Privy Seal.
The Lord Byron . . . Extra Lord in Waiting to the Queen.

Captain Sir Wm. Hoste, Bart., R.N. . . . . }
Lieut.-Colonel R. N. Kingscote } Grooms in Waiting to The
Lieut.-Colonel W. H. F. Cavendish . . . . . } Queen.
Sir H. Seton, Bart . . . }

The Hon. Charles A. Murray, C.B. . . . . } Extra Groom in Waiting to The Queen.

Captain the Hon. Joseph Denman, R.N., Captain of Her Majesty's Yacht, detained at Osborne in attendance upon The Queen.

The Marquis of Lansdowne, K.G.

The Earl of Morley . . .
The Viscount Clifden . . } Formerly Lords of the Bedchamber to His late Royal Highness.

The Inscription on the 'Depositum' Plate on the Coffin of the Prince Consort was in the following terms:—

DEPOSITUM
ILLUSTRISSIMI ET CELSISSIMI ALBERTI
PRINCIPIS CONSORTIS
DUCIS SAXONIÆ
DE SAXE COBURG ET GOTHA PRINCIPIS
NOBILISSIMI ORDINIS PERISCELIDIS EQUITIS
AUGUSTISSIMÆ ET POTENTISSIMÆ VICTORIÆ REGINÆ
CONJUGIS PRÆCARISSIMI
OBIIT DIE DECIMO QUARTO DECEMBRIS MDCCCLXI
ANNO ÆTATIS SUÆ XLIII.

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## II. Royal Mausoleum at Frogmore.

It will have been observed, from the preceding Ceremonial, that the Coffin of the Prince was only placed in the entrance to the Royal Vault, and not in the Vault itself. This was done in contemplation of its being removed to a separate Mausoleum, which Her Majesty had determined to erect for its permanent reception. On the 18th of December, 1861, the Queen, accompanied by the Princess Alice, drove to the gardens at Frogmore, where Her Majesty was received by the Prince of Wales, Prince Louis of Hesse, Sir Charles Phipps, and Sir James Clark. Since the death of the Prince Consort, the Princess Alice had developed a force of character, combined with tact and judgment truly admirable, settling and arranging everything for the Queen with Ministers and officials, and sustaining Her Majesty by her own firmness and skilfully ministered sympathy. And now leaning on her arm, the Queen walked round the gardens, and selected the spot in which all that was mortal of the Prince Consort should be finally laid to rest.

No time was lost in preparing the designs for a Mausoleum, which from its nature might fitly symbolise the character of him to whom it was dedicated; and the work was proceeded

with so rapidly, that within a year it was ready to receive the Prince's remains. Accordingly, on the 18th of December, 1862, a little before 7 A.M., the Coffin was raised from the entrance to the Royal Vault to the level of St. George's Chapel. The Prince of Wales, Prince Arthur, Prince Leopold, and Prince Louis of Hesse, arrived at seven in the Chapel, where the Lord Chamberlain (Lord Sydney), the Dean of Windsor, Sir Charles Phipps, General Grey, and Colonel Biddulph, were already present. The Crown and Baton on one Cushion, and the Sword and Hat upon another Cushion, which rested upon the Coffin, were committed to the charge of Messrs. Löhlein and Mayet, the two valets of the Prince Consort, who were in attendance. The Coffin was then removed by bearers to the south door of the Chapel, and conveyed to the Mausoleum in a hearse with four horses. The members of the Royal Family, the Lord Chamberlain, and the other persons above named, followed in Mourning Coaches. In one of these the Valets followed with the Crown, Baton, Sword, Hat, and Cushions.

A temporary Sarcophagus of stone had been placed in the centre of the Mausoleum, round which a scaffolding covered with black cloth had been raised for convenience in lowering the Coffin into the Sarcophagus.

When all had assembled in the Mausoleum, the Coffin was brought in and lowered into the temporary Sarcophagus. Two members of the Royal Household had previously brought from St. George's Chapel to the Mausoleum the wreaths and palm-branches which had been placed upon the Coffin at the time of the Funeral. These were replaced upon the Coffin by the members of the Royal Family. The Baton and Sword were also placed upon it by the Prince of Wales, but it was found that the Crown and Hat were too high to admit of their being included in the Sarcophagus. The stone slab was then placed upon the Sarcophagus.

In this state the Coffin remained until the 26th of November, 1868, when it was placed at 7 A.M. in the permanent Sarcophagus, which had in the meantime been prepared for its reception.

# III. NOTANDA ET CORRIGENDA.

THE following corrections have been made in some of the later editions of this work. Those who possess the earlier editions will be so good as to consider what follows as containing the final expression of the author's views on the matters referred to.

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In the description of the flight of Pope Pius IX. from Rome, Vol. II., pp. 144–45, *read*:—'On the evening of that day, dressed in the ordinary priest's black cassock, he passed the gates of Rome along with Count Spaur, the Bavarian Minister Plenipotentiary, and in that gentleman's carriage. Leaving this a little way beyond Aricia for the carriage of the Countess Spaur, who was waiting for the fugitive sovereign, the Neapolitan frontier was soon crossed, and having reached Gaëta in safety, he threw himself upon the protection of the King of Naples.'

In the mention of the siege of Silistria, Vol. III., p. 67, the name of Lieutenant J. A. Ballard (now General Ballard, C.B.) should be added to the names of Captain Butler and Lieutenant Nasmyth, as having contributed by their gallantry and skill to the maintenance of the successful resistance to the Russian siege.

The letters from the Crimea quoted at pages 157 and 158 of Vol. III. were written by the late Lord James Murray.

On page 200, Vol. III., instead of the last sentence of the first paragraph as originally published, read as follows:—'Still, he would have been prepared to try it rather than let the Government be dissolved, which he considered would at this moment be a real calamity for the country. When, however, the matter had come before the Cabinet that day, they had not seen their way to carry on the Government after the secession of Lord John Russell, and had come to the determination to tender their resignations.'

On page 455, Vol. IV., after the sentence beginning 'All Mr. Gladstone's sympathies also were with Italy,' *read*:—'So, too, were those of Mr. Milner Gibson. But if their enthusiasm might have blinded them in some degree to the personal objects of the French Emperor, and predisposed them to join with him in measures of active intervention for the liberation of Italy, the other members of the Cabinet, however deeply they felt with the Italian people, were in no way disposed to swerve from the line which the voice of Parliament had prescribed. This balance,' &c.

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